Class 281.9 Book M86
General Theological Seminary Library
Ninth Ave. and 20th St., New York.
Cop. 1
Besides the main topic this book also treats of

Subject No.	*On page*	*Subject No.*	*On page*

A HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF RUSSIA.

BY A. N. MOURAVIEFF,

CHAMBERLAIN TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, AND
UNDER-PROCURATOR OF THE MOST HOLY GOVERNING SYNOD,
ST. PETERSBURGH, 1838.

GEN. THEOL. SEM. OF PROT.

TRANSLATED

BY THE

REV. R. W. BLACKMORE,

CHAPLAIN IN CRONSTADT TO THE RUSSIA COMPANY,
AND B.A. OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY NEW YORK

OXFORD:

JOHN HENRY PARKER;
RIVINGTONS, LONDON.

MDCCCXLII.

1842

3368

281.9 K
M86
cop. 1

OXFORD:
PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

TO

THE GOVERNOR,

CONSULS, AND COURT OF ASSISTANTS

OF

THE WORSHIPFUL, THE RUSSIA COMPANY,

THE

FOLLOWING TRANSLATION

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF RUSSIA

IS

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF THEIR MANY FAVOURS

AND

LONG-CONTINUED PATRONAGE,

BY

THEIR OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT

AND CHAPLAIN,

R. W. BLACKMORE.

Cronstadt,
Oct. 1st, 1841.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

During a residence of twenty-two years in this country, I have not been altogether an inattentive observer of what has passed in my own. My profession, and the situation I have filled here, have naturally led me to turn my thoughts chiefly to religious matters; and I have been both surprised and grieved to find, that while the politics, statistics, and history of Russia have very naturally, from the vast extent of her territories, and her brave, hardy, and numerous population, occupied no small portion of the public mind, the doctrines, discipline, and history of her Church, to which that population is so devotedly attached, and which is so closely and intimately connected with the State, have been almost entirely neglected. And this has not arisen from any indifference to religious subjects, for seldom has the public mind been more warmly interested in them; nor altogether from a want of curiosity respecting foreign Churches; but while the Church and Communion of Rome, the changes that are taking place among the Lutherans of Germany and the Calvinists of Geneva, the Syrians on the Malabar coast, and even the history of a small community in the valleys of Piedmont, have by turns excited general attention, the Church of Russia, its past and present state, and its future prospects, and I may add the whole of the Eastern Orthodox Church, including in its communion more than a quarter of the Christian world, have been comparatively overlooked: while even in the numerous works which have lately issued from the press, expressly treating on the Catholic Church, this large and important portion of it has scarcely been mentioned. It is difficult to assign an

adequate reason for this glaring inconsistency; it may perhaps be in part accounted for, by our usually dividing Christianity into the two great heads, of Papists and Protestants; while the Orientals are ignorantly ranged with the former, or altogether passed over in silence, as if they did not exist, or as if they had but little in common with us, and there were nothing in their history, doctrine, or discipline, that could interest or instruct us. A closer examination will be sufficient to shew, on how very slight a basis either of these reasons for our overlooking the Eastern Church are founded; and that although there is a great similarity between it and the Communion of Rome in the splendour and pomp of their external rites and ceremonies, and in many of those customs which they have in common derived from the earlier ages of our religion, and which we in our zeal for getting rid of corruptions, have—perhaps hastily, and inconsiderately—dropped, yet that in essentials, both of Faith and Discipline, and in its spirit, as well as in its differences from the modern Roman theology, it has very many points which bear a striking resemblance to our own. Derived from the same high source, the Greek Patriarchates and the British Churches have indeed for centuries ceased to hold intercourse with each other, but yet our Christian inter-communion has never been formally broken off by any open act of either party. It is only by long custom and mutual prejudice that it is assumed to have become impossible, neither party sufficiently considering that all the Churches of the world were not necessarily implicated in the temporary quarrels and reconciliations of the archbishops of Rome and Constantinople. We certainly both profess to derive our faith from the same pure sources, the same canon of Scripture, primitive tradition, and the practice of the Apostolic times; they asserting that they have never swerved from these venerable guides, we that we have returned to them, or sought at least to return by a Reformation, i. e. by *repentance* and amendment in those points in which we found ourselves to have sinned against their authority. At the same time it must be confessed, that we do in fact now differ from

one another, (in our outward form of religion and in popular opinions at least,) in some important particulars; and it is much to be wished, that by a better knowledge of each other's divinity, history, and practice, we may gradually elicit the truth, so as mutually to correct each other's faults and deficiencies, and thus in due time attain to the greatest of the privileges of the Apostolic age, unrestricted communion. But under present circumstances, very many sources of prejudice conspire to give the members of both Communions the most erroneous ideas of each other; the Easterns supposing that they are justified by our language and habits in confounding us with Lutherans and Calvinists, and other "non-episcopalians," while the English, with at least equal injustice, confound them, as I have before said, with the Papists.

To remove as far as it is possible this ignorance, and thus promote the restoration of that inter-communion which is so much to be desired between two great branches of the Catholic Church, which is a duty prescribed by our Lord Himself, the great Head of the Church, for which both Churches continually pray, and which would prove a tower of strength to either party against their common adversaries, must surely be an object well worthy the attention of every reflecting and well-disposed member of our Church.

From my long residence in Russia I have been led to feel this more perhaps than many others; and have been hitherto prevented from undertaking it, solely by the consciousness of my inability to do justice to such a subject. My acquaintance with the language will enable me however to do that which will, I trust, prove more satisfactory to my readers than any thing I could myself have written, namely, to present to them the Russian Church, speaking for herself through the medium of translation. For the Church of Russia, although a comparatively recent scion of the Church of Constantinople, may still, both from the number of her members, the political and moral influence which the Emperor, from the relation in which he stands to her, possesses throughout the East, and lastly from the superior learning and acquirements of many

both of her Clergy and Laity, justly claim to be considered as the most eminent and powerful portion of the whole Orthodox Communion of the Eastern or Greek rite.

Many circumstances have combined to render the present period peculiarly favourable to an undertaking of this kind. There has lately arisen in Russia a great disposition to cultivate and develop the energies and resources of the Church, as well as of the State; the beneficial consequences of which, may be traced in the improved tone of feeling among the clergy; in the recent augmentation of the number of the Bishoprics, corresponding with the increasing numbers and spiritual wants of the population; in the multiplication, as well as in the ameliorated state of the schools for secular and religious learning; in the better training of candidates for Holy Orders; and in the care taken to place only men of good morals, and suitable education, in the cure of souls. The same is also apparent in the growing efficiency and marked success of their missions in Siberia, and the Aleoutine Islands, in which last a new diocese has lately been founded, and the pious and zealous missionary, Veniamineff, who has so long laboured among the natives, has been appointed their first Bishop: also in the great and increasing number of the converts to the national Church, which is stated on good authority to be upwards of 20,000 persons a-year, principally drawn from those who have formerly been Dissenters. A striking example of success in this pious work is also to be found in the reconciliation of 1,600,000 Uniates to the Russian Church, which took place in 1839, and an official account of which, published by authority of the Synod, will be found appended at the end of this volume. And here it would be an act of injustice not to remark, that the greater part of the improvements above alluded to, may be attributed to the fostering care and paternal measures of the truly great Sovereign of this Empire; particularly to his judicious choice of that enlightened Nobleman, Count Pratasoff, as High-Procurator of the Most Holy Governing Synod, the duties of which important office he has fulfilled, as far as I have had

opportunities of learning, with equal zeal and judgment, to his own honour, and the benefit and satisfaction of the Church.

But the chief circumstance which renders the present moment so favourable to my undertaking, is the increased activity of the Russian Church, in publishing translations of the Fathers, by which their writings have become generally accessible to the people, and by which they have been taught to look back to the earlier and purer ages of our religion, and the number of other useful and original works, which have lately issued from her presses. Many learned and pious individuals have partaken in, and promoted this movement, but two have been particularly conspicuous in it, from the superiority of their abilities and acquirements, as well as from the number and value of the books they have published. These are Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, and Andrew Nicholaevich Mouravieff, author of the work, a translation of which is now presented to the public.

The Metropolitan of Moscow has not indeed written so much as his best friends could have wished; having been prevented probably by the variety and importance of his occupations, as a leading member of the Most Holy Governing Synod, and as Pastor of one of the most important dioceses in the Russian Empire. His chief works are a History of the Bible, for the use of Students in Divinity,—Dialogues on the differences between the Eastern and Western Churches,—two volumes of very superior Sermons,—a Translation of the Book of Genesis from the original Hebrew into modern Russ, with copious and learned commentaries,—a Longer, and a Shorter Catechism,—the one for Students of Divinity and the higher classes, the other for the lower classes of schools; which two last, as they have been revised and approved by the Synod, and published as the Catechisms of the Church herself, and introduced by authority into all the schools of the Empire, may be reckoned as the latest official exposition of the doc- 1839.
trines of the Russian Church.

M. Mouravieff is Chamberlain to His Imperial Majesty, and Under-Procurator of the Most Holy Governing Synod;

and, although a layman, has devoted himself to the service of the Church, and may justly be esteemed one of the brightest modern ornaments of Russian literature. His claims to this title are, his Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, written in 1830, when the author was quite a young man, and published in 1832,—his Letters on the Services of the Eastern Catholic Church,—his History of the First Four Ages of Christianity,—his Exposition of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, which has received the formal approbation of the Synod,—his Letters on the Salvation of the World by the Son of God,—his "Law of the Œcumenical Church in relation to the Roman and other Patriarchal Thrones," very recently published, and lastly, his History of the Church of Russia. I have selected this last work as that, which seemed calculated to be of most service in making the Church of this country better known in England; and in the hope of contributing something towards this end, I now present the Translation of it to the British public. Should this attempt be favourably received, it may probably be followed by Translations of some others of the works I have mentioned above; especially of the Catechism of the Church, with other documents illustrative of her *doctrines*, which the same friend, who has engaged to conduct this volume through the press, and without whose assistance, placed as I am at a distance from my native country, it could never have appeared, has kindly offered to edit for me in like manner.

There are only two Histories of the Russian Church which have come to my knowledge, those of the Metropolitan Platon and of M. Mouravieff, both beginning from the introduction of Christianity into this country, and both terminating with the institution of the Holy Governing Synod. Of these, the first gives rather the annals than the history of the Church; in many particular points it is diffuse, while it passes over others of great interest with comparatively little notice, and throughout it supposes that the reader is already thoroughly acquainted with the Civil History of Russia. Mouravieff on the contrary gives a clear, succinct, and

regular account of the events which marked the introduction and progress of Christianity in his native country; he notices every material incident, places it in its due light, and affords it that attention and space its importance demands. These reasons have induced me to prefer his work, without however entirely overlooking the other; from which I have given extracts, in the shape of notes, wherever the subject seemed to require it.

It is perhaps to be regretted, that our author finishes his work where he does, without bringing down the narrative to our own time. But it is a difficult task to write contemporary history of either Church or State impartially, without prejudice or flattery, in any country; and in Russia it would be perhaps less easy than elsewhere. He has however brought down his relation to the last great epoch in the government of the Church: and the Synod has continued ever since to exist, as it was at first instituted by Peter the Great and allowed and confirmed by the Eastern Patriarchs, and to exercise its high functions to the benefit and prosperity of the Church it presides over, and to the general satisfaction, so far as I have been able to learn, both of the clergy and laity.

The union between the Church and the State was so close during the whole period of which our Author has treated, their interests and their actions were so closely interwoven with each other, that it would have been impossible to have composed a history of the one without speaking of the other. He has accordingly given very ample details of the civil and military transactions of those times. But as he has still written for his countrymen, who would naturally be more or less acquainted with the earlier institutions of their own country, I feared lest some parts of his work, especially at the beginning, might appear obscure to the general reader; and have therefore given rather copious extracts from a modern Russian historian, Oustreloff, in the shape of notes. I have here also to acknowledge my obligations to my friend the Rev. E. Law, Chaplain to the British Embassy at St. Petersburgh, for placing at my disposal some unpublished MSS. of the late

learned Baron Rosenkampf, from which also several of the notes have been taken or compiled; for others, which relate chiefly to doctrinal matters touched upon in the History and seeming to require some illustration, I am indebted to my Editor.

The ecclesiastical part of the History itself which I have translated exhibits the interesting picture of a National Church, which has preserved throughout a filial respect for its mother in the Faith, without at any time becoming unduly dependent on foreign rule. She acknowledged indeed for several centuries a certain subordination to the see of Constantinople, whose patriarch had the privilege of consecrating or confirming her metropolitans, chosen generally by the Great Princes and the bishops, and *when referred to,* he was the final arbitrator in all ecclesiastical questions; but the Russian Church admitted no right of ordinary interference with her internal jurisdiction and self-government. On the other hand, when political circumstances had influenced the Great Princes to set aside the privileges of the Church of Constantinople, and cause the metropolitans to be elected by the synod of their own bishops, we do not find that either the patriarchs of Constantinople, though they probably considered themselves wronged, broke off communion on this account, or that the Russian metropolitans now become independent made any boast of having returned at the command of the civil power, or by any pretended vindication of their own rights to the letter of the Œcumenical canons. On the contrary, after a full century of actual independence the conscience both of the Church and the State dictated a public acknowledgment that something was still wanting to legitimatize the independence which had been acquired, while the patriarch of Constantinople not only made good by his consent what had been done, but concurred with his brethren of the East to raise the very see which he might have said had rebelled against him to a dignity equal with his own, and that too at the instance of a successor of those same princes, by the interference of whose temporal authority his

own privileges had been diminished. It is to be lamented that a spirit so very different from that of the Eastern Church, should have been manifested in questions affecting their own dominion and supremacy by the Popes of Rome.

The Church of Russia began her course with a well-defined system, derived from Constantinople, and based on the decrees of the Councils, as collected in the Nomocanon, in which her rights, as well as those of the State, were clearly defined and limited, so that the one could never interfere with the other. We therefore find but little mention in the History before us, of those contests and struggles between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, which have been so common in the West. During her long career, she has constantly, and with untiring zeal and loyalty, supported and preserved the State, through all the difficulties and dangers, whether arising from internal dissensions or external assaults, to which it has been exposed. In the midst of the feuds and distractions caused by the appanage system, and the dominion of the Tartars, a space of near five hundred years, the Church was the sole bond of union to the nation; and it is hazarding little to say, that had it been deprived of this bond, the great Russian Empire itself would have been dissolved into a number of petty, independent states, or perhaps even barbarous and wandering tribes, and have ceased to exist as an independent whole. Nor were these beneficial influences much less felt during the afflictive periods of the Pretenders, the disputed succession, and the invasions of the Poles; while during the peaceful times which succeeded, the clergy afforded the greatest assistance to the government in its paternal endeavours to heal the wounds of the nation, and promote the return of peace, order, and prosperity. And all this they did without stepping beyond their own appropriate and peculiar sphere of action; they never degraded their calling by personally taking up arms as partisans, and never had recourse to them except in the case of self-defence, but limited their exertions to mediation between contending parties, to exhortations and persuasions to union and concord. They

frequently and unsparingly indeed exposed their lives for the good of their country; but it was by entering into barbarous and hostile camps as messengers of peace; and when they appeared on the field of battle, it was for the purpose of administering temporal and spiritual assistance to the wounded and dying; and in this latter respect, the present generation have shewn themselves the worthy descendants and imitators of their forefathers.

This History also exhibits a most successful scene of missionary exertions; First, on the conversion of Russia herself to the Christian faith, by which the Oriental Church has nearly made up the losses she has sustained from the Mahometans, and has fully answered the objections of modern Roman doctors, that they, who are by any means separated from the Pope, are therefore necessarily cursed with barrenness and spiritual death; for so far from having become a lifeless stock, the Eastern Catholic Church has, since her alienation from the West, sent forth the most flourishing and widely-spreading branch of modern times, and has continued to support her own spiritual existence (as her daughter Church in Russia also did under the Tartar yoke) in the midst of the severest and most continued persecutions.

Secondly, in the continued efforts of the Russian Church, extending down to our own times, to spread wider and wider the limits of that faith she once so happily received from Greece; through which the wild and pathless forests of Perm and Viatka, and the deserts of Siberia have become enlightened with the life of Christianity. This most successful issue of missionary exertions, we may observe, was not effected by single and unsupported individuals, but by societies of devoted men, collected around some saint or hermit into monastic establishments, which became the outposts at once of civilization and Christianity, and new points from whence to make still further and more effective inroads into the territories of barbarism, as well as heathenism.

Lastly, this History exhibits the instructive spectacle of a Church, which ever since her first foundation, has faithfully

retained that creed which was at the first delivered to her; which has not altered her doctrines, or services, her rites, ceremonies, or discipline, and very slightly her internal government, and that more in form than in spirit, for nearly nine hundred years; during which long period both clergy and laity have enjoyed free access to the Holy Scriptures, and made use of the sublime Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom in their native tongue. Her Apostolic Hierarchy and Priesthood, first received from Greece, she has venerated through all the periods of her history alike, and has preserved with the most scrupulous care in all their integrity. She has always founded on her unbroken succession from the patriarchal throne of Constantinople and from the Apostles themselves, her claim to divine authority in teaching and administering the Sacraments, and in governing by ecclesiastical discipline the people committed to her charge. This divine and exclusive character of the true Church her clergy have constantly maintained; while on the other hand the laity have never ceased to be able to distinguish the priest from the man, to look upon him as filling, not a human, but a divine appointment, as being not a servant of the people or the state, but an ambassador of Christ, *really* commissioned to act in the name, and by the authority of the great Head of the Church. Hence they have never lost sight of the respect due to the successors of the Apostles, even when individuals of their order may have most swerved from Apostolic precepts and examples. How little soever at any time individuals among the Russian clergy may have had to recommend them of those qualities, which generally command the esteem of the world, as rank, wealth, learning, eloquence, or even, I fear I must say, occasionally good moral conduct, nothing has been ever able to shake the deep and well-grounded respect entertained by the laity for their office. The firm persuasion in the minds of the people of their divine commission and authority from the Apostles and from Christ, has counterbalanced all the evil consequences of any partial deficiencies in the men themselves, whenever and in whatever

degree they have existed or may still exist. May not we clergy of the Church of England learn something from this example? If in any thing our teaching of those entrusted to our care has been defective, if in any point we have failed to declare the whole counsel of God, it has been this. Hence it has naturally followed, that we have been too often looked upon merely as the teachers of an Act of Parliament Religion, or as ministers of the most wealthy and influential of those sects or persuasions, with which our country abounds. Our ministry has been therefore esteemed and respected for our learning, eloquence, or piety, or been despised for our want of them; and we have been either preferred or postponed to the sectarian preacher, who has intruded into our charge, from our superiority or inferiority to him in these qualifications; whilst our Apostolical descent, the true point of difference between us, and to which he does not even make any pretensions, has been ridiculed by our enemies, and too often but coldly and doubtfully defended by our friends. And the cause of this has been, that we have been untrue to ourselves; that from a morbid sensibility, or a foolish fear of appearing to magnify ourselves, if not from feelings still more culpable, we have neglected an important part of our duty, in not magnifying our office. A conviction of the truth of this, has, I am glad to learn, begun to be generally felt. May the example here presented before us of the happy effects which have accrued to the Church of Russia, the firm hold she retains on the public mind and affections, resulting in great measure from her deep-rooted belief of this important principle, add strength to the same conviction, which has never yet been lost among ourselves, and lead us to adopt such means as may best serve to repair the effects of our past sins, negligences, and ignorances, and bring down both on ourselves and our flocks the fulness of the Divine blessing.

R. W. BLACKMORE.

Cronstadt,
August 30th, 1841.

CONTENTS.

Page

PREFACE . . . . . 3.

CHAP. I.

Introduction of Christianity into Russia, A.D. 866. to A.D. 1015. . . . . 7.

CHAP. II.

Further Establishment of the Faith. The first Monasteries, ... A.D. 1015-72. . . . . 19.

CHAP. III.

Period during which the Metropolitans sat at Kieff; till the invasion of the Tartars, A.D. 1072, to A.D. 1240. . . . . 27.

CHAP. IV.

Period during which the Metropolitans sat at Vladimir. . 46.
Cyrill II. . . . . 23rd Met. . . . . A.D. 1250. . . . . 46.
Maximus . . . . . 24th Met. . . . . A.D. 1283. . . . . 49.
St. Peter . . . . . 25th Met. . . . . A.D. 1308. . . . . 51.

CHAP. V.

Period during which the Metropolitans resided at Moscow. . 57.
Theognostes . . . 26th Met. . . . . A.D. 1328. . . . . ibid.
St. Alexis . . . . . 27th Met. . . . . A.D. 1353. . . . . 59.
Cyprian . . . . . 28th Met. . . . . A.D. 1380. . . . . 65.
Photius . . . . . 29th Met. . . . . A.D. 1410. . . . . 71.
Isidore . . . . . 30th Met. . . . . A.D. 1432. . . . . 75.
St. Jonah . . . . . 31st Met. . . . . A.D. 1448. . . . . 78.
Theodosius . . . . 32nd Met. . . . . A D. 1462. . . . . 83.
Philip I. . . . . 33rd Met. . . . . A.D. 1467. . . . . 84.
Gerontius . . . . . 34th Met. . . . . A.D. 1472. . . . . 86.

Page

Zosimus . . . . . 35th Met. . . . . A.D. 1491. . . . . 89.
Simon . . . . . 36th Met. . . . . A.D. 1496. . . . . 91.
Barlaam . . . . . 37th Met. . . . . A.D. 1511. . . . . 97.
Daniel . . . . . 38th Met. . . . . A.D. 1522. . . . . 98.
Joasaph . . . . . 39th Met. . . . . A.D. 1539. . . . . 100.
Macarius . . . . . 40th Met. . . . . A.D. 1542. . . . . 101.
Athanasius . . . . 41st Met. . . . . A.D. 1564. . . . . 112.
St. Philip . . . . . 42nd Met. . . . . A.D. 1565. . . . . 114.
Cyrill III. . . . . 43rd Met. . . . . A.D. 1568. . . . . 117.
Anthony . . . . . 44th Met. . . . . A.D. 1572. . . . . 120.
Dionysius . . . . 45th Met. . . . . A.D. 1582. . . . . 123.

CHAP. VI.

The Patriarchs. Job, first Patriarch, . . . A.D. 1587. . . . . 126.

CHAP. VII.

Hermogenes, second Patriarch, ... A.D. 1606. . . . . 155.

CHAP. VIII.

Philaret, third Patriarch, ... A.D. 1620. . . . . 176.

CHAP. IX.

Joasaph I., fourth Patriarch, ... A.D. 1631. . . . . 136.

CHAP. X.

Joseph, fifth Patriarch, ... A.D. 1642. . . . . 191.

CHAP. XI.

Nikon, sixth Patriarch, ... A.D. 1653. . . . . 203.

CHAP. XII.

Joasaph II., seventh Patriarch, ... A.D. 1667. . . . . 233.

CHAP. XIII.

Pitirim, eighth Patriarch, ... A.D. 1672. . . . . 242.

CHAP. XIV.

Joachim, ninth Patriarch, ... A.D. 1673. . . . . 243.

CHAP. XV.

Adrian, tenth Patriarch, ... A.D. 1690. . . . . 258.

Page

CHAP. XVI.

Stephen Yavorsky, Guardian of the Patriarchate, A.D. 1701. . . . . 263.

CHAP. XVII.

The Most Holy Synod, ... A.D. 1721. . . . . 284.

APPENDIX.

1. An account of the coming of the Patriarch Jeremiah into Russia. 289
2. Of the coming of the Metropolitan Dionysius. . . . 325

THE HISTORY

OF

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

"DO YOU SEE THESE HILLS? FOR ON THESE HILLS
SHALL SHINE FORTH THE GRACE OF GOD."

This Book is permitted to be printed by the St. Petersburg Committee of Censorship for Religious Publications.

October 10, 1840.

(Signed)

ATHANASIUS, ARCHIMANDRITE,

Rector of the Seminary at St. Petersburgh, and Censor.

PREFACE.

The History of the Orthodox Church of our country which I now present to the Public, is merely a cursory glance at the great events that have marked the plantation and gradual development of this flourishing branch of the Universal Church. By the wise providence of God it was ordained that when the Church of Jerusalem, the Mother of all Churches, was overwhelmed by the invasion of barbarians, the Church of Constantinople should shine out with peculiar lustre in the East, and spread her scions into all the North. And when she again in her turn, though she lost not her inward purity, fell under external calamities, then suddenly, as a sea that bursts its bounds, the Orthodox Faith overflowed and spread itself over the boundless tracts of Russia; and the Eastern Catholic Church may now count her children from the shores of the Adriatic to the bays of the Eastern ocean on the coast of America, from the icefields which grind against the Solovetsky Monastery on its savage islet in the North to the heart of the Arabian and Egyptian deserts, on the verge of which stands the [1] Lavra of Sinai.

This picture, consolatory to every Christian, is more especially calculated to rejoice the heart of a Russian, on account of the mighty destinies which the Church of our country has either already accomplished, or is still accomplishing, over so vast a field. Let him but cast a look of tenderness on the cradle of our Faith, the ancient City of Kieff; or on Moscow, the elder of our two capitals, the heart of Orthodoxy; let him trace in thought the acts of Prelates such as Cyrill, Peter, Alexis, Cyprian, Jonah, Philip, Job, Hermogenes, Philaret; of Monks and Hermits,

like Antony and Theodosius, Sergius, the Zosimi, the Cyrills, and others without number, whose names live in that monastic world which has peopled the repose of our forests; of Princes, such as the Vladimirs, the Michaels, or Alexander Nefsky, whose earthly diadems beamed in anticipation of the crowns which they were to receive in Paradise. Then what an army of Martyrs! what a company of women and of men of every age and calling, who, by the holiness of their lives or by their sufferings, have been confessors for the Name of Christ! And in the midst of all these varied scenes, how striking is the unity of the Faith, which has been preserved in such constant purity, that in spite of all circumstances which may have temporarily interrupted external communication between the Churches of Eastern Orthodoxy, they all constitute together in spirit but one whole! When the Church of Georgia[2], now only a short time back, became an integral portion of the Russian Church and Empire, after having stood alone, cut off and isolated from all other Churches ever since the fourth century, there was not found to have arisen in the course of fifteen hundred years any the slightest difference between them in doctrine, no, nor even in ceremonies; but they agreed in all points with us and with the other Œcumenical Thrones of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and with the Churches dependent upon the first of them in Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, Montenegria, Transylvania, Illyria, and in a word, throughout all Sclavonia.

In a rapid sketch like the present, which professes only to mark the general outline of the course of Ecclesiastical affairs, I have not thought it necessary to weary the reader with perpetual references to authorities, which for the most part are well known to all; such as The Annals of Nestor and his continuators, collected together by the Patriarch Nicon; The Books of the Genealogies of our Princes, by the Metropolitans Cyprian and Macarius; and The Lives of the Saints. The Church Histories of Plato and Innocentius, the valuable Dictionary of Russian Authors, by the Metropolitan Eugenius, with his Hierarchy of Kieff and all Russia, and the work of

the immortal Karamzin, so rich in proofs of the close attention which he had bestowed on Russian history, together with those of other living authors on the same subject, have served me for authorities, and supplied me with most of my materials, down to the times of the Patriarchate.

From this point I have chiefly had recourse either to MSS. which are preserved in the Patriarchal Library at Moscow, or to books published by the Patriarchs. Thus the description of the coming of Jeremiah Patriarch of Constantinople, in order to raise Job to the Patriarchal dignity, with all the circumstances of this event, has been taken from contemporary Acts; and in like manner the whole affair of the trial of the Patriarch Nicon. The different steps successively taken for the correction of the Church books, have been accurately described in the Prefaces to the Office-books of Philaret, the Tablets of Nicon, the Staff of Rule and Instruction of Joachim. The Ancient Russian Library, composed almost entirely from MSS. of the Patriarchal Vestry, which had been carefully collected by Nicon; The History of the Unia, by Kamensky; Roumanzoff's Collection of Letters; The Archæological Acts, full of matter which has been only recently rescued from obscurity; and the most useful Collection of the Laws of the Empire, shed abundant light on the century during which the Patriarchate lasted, and leave nothing to be desired by the historian.

Such are the sources of this imperfect work, which I cast as my mite into the Treasury of the Russian Church.

CHAP. I.

THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY IN RUSSIA.

The Russian Church, like the other Orthodox Churches of the East, had an Apostle for its founder. St. Andrew, the first called of the Twelve, hailed with his blessing long beforehand the destined introduction of Christianity into our country. Ascending up and penetrating by the Dnieper into the deserts of Scythia, he planted the first cross on the hills of Kieff, and "See you," said he to his disciples, "these hills? On these hills shall shine the light of Divine grace. There shall be here a great city, and God shall have in it many Churches to His Name." Such are the words of the holy Nestor the Monk and Annalist of the Pechersky monastery, that point from whence Christian Russia has sprung.

But it was only after an interval of nine centuries that the rays of Divine light beamed upon Russia from the walls of Byzantium, in which city the same Apostle St. Andrew had appointed Stachys to be the first Bishop, and so committed as it were to him and to his successors, in the spirit of prescience, the charge of that wide region in which he had himself preached Christ. Hence the indissoluble connection of the Russian with the Greek Church, and the dependence of her Metropolitans during six centuries upon the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople, until, with its consent, she obtained her own equality and independence in that which was accorded to her native Primates.

The Bulgarians of the Danube, the Moravians, and the Slavonians of Illyria, had been already enlightened by holy

CHAP. I.

Baptism about the middle of the ninth century, during the reign of the Greek Emperor Michael, and the Patriarchate of the illustrious Photius. [1]St. Cyrill and St. Methodius, two learned Greek brothers, translated into the Slavonic the New Testament and the books used in Divine service, and according to some accounts even the whole Bible. This translation of the word of God became afterwards a most blessed instrument for the conversion of the Russians, for the missionaries were by it enabled to expound the truths of the gospel to the heathens in their native dialect, and so win for them a readier entrance to their hearts.

So far as we know, it appears that Oskold and Dir, two princes of Kieff and of the companions of Ruric, were the first of the Russians who embraced Christianity. In the year 866 they made their appearance in armed vessels before the walls of Constantinople, when the Emperor was absent, and threw the Greek capital into no little alarm and confusion. Tradition reports that the Patriarch Photius took the virginal robe of the Mother of God from the [2]Blachern Church, and plunged it beneath the waves of the strait, when the sea immediately boiled up from underneath and wrecked the vessels of the heathen. Struck with awe, they believed in that God who had smitten them, and became the first-fruits of their people to the Lord. The hymn of victory of the Greek Church "[3]To the protecting Conductress" in honour of the most holy Virgin has remained a memorial of this triumph, and even now among ourselves concludes the Office for the First Hour in the daily Mattins, for that was indeed the first hour of salvation to the land of Russia.

It is probable that on their return to their own country the Princes of Kieff sowed there the seeds of Christianity; for, eighty years afterwards, on occasion of a conference for peace between the Prince Igor[4] and certain Byzantine ambassadors, we find mention already of a Church of the Prophet Elias in Kieff where the Christian Varagians swore to the observance of the treaty. Constantine Porphyrogenitus and other Greek annalists even relate that in the lifetime of

Oskold there was a Bishop sent to the Russians by the Emperor Basil the Macedonian, and the Patriarch St. Ignatius, and that he made many converts, chiefly in consequence of the [5]miraculous preservation of a volume of the Gospels, which was thrown publicly into the flames and taken out after some time unconsumed. Also in Codinus' Catalogue of Sees subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Metropolitical See of Russia appears as early as the year 891.

Lastly, it is certain that many of the Varagians who served in the Imperial body-guard were Christians, and that the Greek sovereigns never lost sight of any opportunity of converting them to their own faith, by which they hoped to soften their savage manners. When the Emperor Leo was concluding a peace with Oleg he shewed not only his own treasures to the ambassadors of the Russian Prince, but also the splendour of the churches, the holy Relics, the precious Icons, and the Instruments of the Passion of our Lord, if by any means they might catch from them the spirit of the true Faith.

Some such influences as these, while Christianity as yet was only struggling for an uncertain existence at Kieff, produced in good time their effect on the wisest of the daughters of the Slavonians, the widowed Princess Olga, who governed Russia during the minority of her son Sviatoslaff[6]. She undertook a voyage to Constantinople for no other end than to obtain a knowledge of the true God, and there she 965
received Baptism at the hands of the Patriarch Polyeuctes, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself, who admired her wisdom, being her godfather. Nestor draws an affecting picture of the Patriarch foretelling to the newly-illumined Princess the blessings which were to descend by her means on future generations of the Russians, while Olga now become Helena by Baptism, that she might resemble both in name and deed the mother of Constantine the Great, stood meekly bowing down her head and drinking in, as a sponge that is thirsty of moisture, the instructions of the Prelate concerning the canons of the Church, fasting,

CHAP. I.

prayer, almsgiving, and continence, all which she observed with holy exactness on her return to her own country.

There, although in spite of all her entreaties the fierce and warlike Prince Sviatoslaff persisted in refusing to humble his proud heart under the meek yoke of Christ, he had still so much affection for his mother as not only not to persecute such as agreed with her in religion, but even to allow them freely to make open profession of their Faith under the protection of that Princess. He confided his children to her care during his incessant military expeditions, and so enabled her to confirm the saving impressions of Christianity among the people who respected her, and to instil them into the mind of her young grandson Vladimir: for nothing sinks so deep into the heart as the simple and affectionate words of a mother. The Princess had with her a Priest named Gregory, whom she had brought from Constantinople, and by him she was buried after her death in the spot which she had herself appointed, without any of the usual Pagan ceremonies[7]. The people by whom she had been surnamed The Wise during life, began to bless her for a Saint after her death, when they came themselves to follow the example of this Morning-Star which had risen and gone before to lead Russia into the path of salvation.

Nowhere has Christianity ever been less persecuted at its first introduction, than in our own country. The Chronicle speaks of only two Christian Martyrs, the Varagians Theodore and John, who were put to death by the fury of the people, because one of them from natural affection had refused to give up his son, when he had been devoted by the Prince Vladimir to be offered as a sacrifice to Peroun[8].

Probably the very zeal of this Prince for the heathen deities, to whom he set up statues, and multiplied altars, may have inspired the neighbouring nations with the desire of converting so powerful a ruler to their respective creeds; and thus his blind impulse towards the Deity which was unknown to him, received a true direction. The Mahometan Bulga-

rians were the first to send ambassadors to him, with the offer of their faith; but the mercy of Providence, for so it plainly was, inspired him to give them a decided refusal, on the ground that he did not choose to comply with some of their regulations; though else a sensual religion might well have enticed a man who was given up to the indulgence of his passions.

The Chazarian Jews flattered themselves with the hope of attracting the Prince by boasting of their religion, and the ancient glory of Jerusalem. "But where," demanded the wise grandson of Olga, "is your country?" "It is ruined by the wrath of God for the sins of our fathers," was their answer. Vladimir then said that he had no mind to embrace the Law of a people whom God had abandoned. There came also Western Doctors, from Germany, who would have persuaded Vladimir to embrace Christianity; but their Christianity seemed strange to him, for Russia had hitherto no acquaintance but with Byzantium. "Return home," he said, "our ancestors did not receive this religion from you."

A Greek embassy had the best success of them all. A certain philosopher, a Monk named Constantine, after having exposed the insufficiency of other religions, eloquently set before the Prince those judgments of God which are in all the world, the redemption of the human race by the blood of Christ[9], and the retribution of the life to come; his discourse powerfully affected the heathen monarch, who was burdened with the heavy sins of a tumultuous youth; and this was particularly the case when the Monk pointed out to him on an Ikon, which represented the last judgment, the different lot of the just and of the wicked. "Good to these on the right hand, but woe to those on the left," exclaimed Vladimir, deeply affected: but sensual nature still struggled in him against heavenly truth. Having dismissed the missionary, or ambassador, with presents, he still hesitated to decide; and wished first to examine further concerning the faith, in concert with the elders of his Council, that all

CHAP. I.

Russia might have a share in his conversion. The Council of the Prince decided to send chosen men to make their observations on each religion on the spot where it was professed; and this public agreement explains in some degree the sudden and general acceptance of Christianity which shortly after followed in Russia. It is probable that not only the Chiefs, but the common people also, were expecting and ready for the change [10].

The Greek Emperors did not fail to profit by this favourable opportunity; and the Patriarch himself in person celebrated the Divine Liturgy in the church of St. Sophia, with the utmost possible magnificence, before the astonished ambassadors of Vladimir. The sublimity and splendour of the service forcibly struck them; but we may not ascribe to the mere external impression that softening of the hearts of these heathens, on which depended the conversion of a whole nation. From the very earliest times of the Church, extraordinary signs of God's power have constantly gone hand in hand with that apparent weakness of man by which the Gospel was preached: and so also the Byzantine Chronicle relates of the Russian ambassadors, "That during the Divine Liturgy, at the time of carrying the Holy Gifts in procession to the Throne or altar and singing the Cherubic hymn, the eyes of their spirits were opened, and they saw, as in an ecstacy, Glittering youths who joined in singing the Hymn of the Thrice Holy. Being thus fully persuaded of the truth of the orthodox faith, they returned to their own country already Christians in heart; and without saying a word before the Prince in favour of the other religions, they declared thus concerning the Greek:—"When we stood in the temple we did not know where we were, for there is nothing else like it upon earth: there in truth God has His dwelling with men; and we can never forget the beauty we saw there. No one who has once tasted sweets, will afterwards take that which is bitter: nor can we now any longer abide in heathenism." Then the Boyars said to Vladimir, If the

religion of the Greeks had not been good, your grandmother Olga, who was the wisest of women, would not have embraced it. The weight of the name of Olga decided her grandson, and he said no more in answer than these words, "Where shall we be baptized[11]?"

But Vladimir, led by a sense which had not yet been purged by Grace, thought it best to follow the custom of his ancestors, who made warlike descents upon Constantinople, and so win to himself, sword in hand, his new religion. He embarked his warriors on board their vessels, and attacked 992
Cherson[12] in the Tauride, a city which was subject to the Emperors. After a long and unsuccessful siege, a certain priest, named Anastasius, by means of an arrow shot from the town, informed the Prince that the fate of the besieged depended upon his cutting off the aqueducts, which supplied them with water. Vladimir in great joy made a vow that he would be baptized if he gained possession of the town: and he did gain possession of it. Then he sent to demand from the Greek Emperors the hand of their sister Anna, and they in answer proposed as a condition that he should embrace Christianity; for though they themselves desired an alliance with so powerful a prince, they at the same time took care to follow the prudent and pious policy of their predecessors, who had ever sought to bring their fierce neighbours under the humanizing influence of the Faith. The Prince declared his consent; because, in his own words, "He had long since examined, and conceived a love for the Greek Law."

It was her faith alone which influenced the Princess to sacrifice herself at once for the temporal interests of her own country, and for the eternal welfare of a strange people. Accompanied by a venerable body of clergy, she sailed for Cherson, and on her arrival induced the Prince to hasten his baptism; for it was so ordered, says the pious Annalist, by the wisdom of God, that the sight of the Prince was at that time much affected by a complaint of the eyes: but at the moment that the Bishop of Cherson laid his hands upon him,

CHAP. I.

when he had risen up out of the bath of regeneration, Vladimir suddenly received not only spiritual illumination, but also the bodily sight of his eyes, and cried out, "Now I have seen the true God[13]."

Many of the Prince's suite were so struck by his miraculous recovery, that they followed his example, and were baptized in like manner; and these were doubtless afterwards zealous for the introduction of Christianity into their country. The baptism and marriage of Vladimir were both celebrated in the church of the Most Holy Mother of God; and hence no doubt arose his peculiar zeal for the most pure Virgin, to whose honour he afterwards erected a cathedral church in his own city of Kieff. In Cherson itself he built a church, in the name of his angel or patron St. Basil; and taking with him the relics of St. Clement, Bishop of Rome, and his disciple Thebas[14], with church vessels and ornaments, and Ikons, he restored the city to be again under the power of the Emperors, and returned to Kieff, accompanied by the Princess their daughter, and her Greek Ecclesiastics.

St. Michael, first Metropolitan.

Nestor makes no mention of any of the Bishops and Priests from Constantinople and Cherson who followed in the train of the Prince, excepting only of one, Anastasius, the Priest who had rendered him such good service during the siege; but the Books of the Genealogies give the name of Michael, a Syrian by birth, and of six other Bishops who were sent together with him to Cherson by the Patriarch Nicholas Chrysoberges. Some have ventured to suppose that Michael was the name of the Bishop of the times of Oskold; but Nestor says nothing about him: and thus much only is certain, that he stands the first in the list of the Metropolitans of Russia.

After his return to Kieff the Great Prince[15] caused his twelve sons to be baptized, and proceeded to destroy the monuments of heathenism. He ordered Peroun to be thrown into the Dnieper. The people at first followed their idol, as it was borne down the stream, but were soon quieted when they saw that the statue had no power to help itself. And

now Vladimir being surrounded and supported by believers in his own domestic circle, and encouraged by seeing that his Boyars and Suite were prepared and ready to embrace the faith, made a proclamation to the people, "That whoever, on the morrow, should not repair to the river, whether rich or poor, he should hold him for his enemy." At the call of their respected Lord[16] all the multitude of the citizens in troops, with their wives and children, flocked to the Dnieper; and without any manner of opposition received holy Baptism as a nation, from the Greek Bishops and Priests. Nestor draws a touching picture of this baptism of a whole people at once. "Some stood in the water up to their necks, others up to their breasts, holding their young children in their arms; the Priests read the prayers from the shore, naming at once whole companies by the same name." He who was the means of thus bringing them to salvation, filled with a transport of joy at the affecting sight, cried out to the Lord, offering and commending into His hands himself and his people; "O great God! who hast made Heaven and Earth, look down upon these Thy new people. Grant them, O Lord, to know Thee the true God, as Thou hast been made known to Christian lands, and confirm in them a true and unfailing faith; and assist me, O Lord, against my enemy that opposes me, that trusting in Thee, and in Thy power, I may overcome all his wiles." Vladimir erected the first church, that of St. Basil, after whom he was named, on the very mount which had formerly been sacred to Peroun, adjoining his own palace. Thus was Russia Enlightened.

So sudden and ready a conversion of the inhabitants of Kieff might well seem improbable, that is, unless effected by violence, did we not attend to the fact that the Russians had been gradually becoming enlightened ever since the times of Oskold, for more than a hundred years, by means of commerce, treaties of peace, and relations of every kind with the Greeks, as well as with the Bulgarians and Slavonians of kindred origin with ourselves, who had already been long in

CHAP. I.

possession of the holy Scriptures in their own language. The constant endeavours of the Greek Emperors for the conversion of the Russians by means of their ambassadors and preachers, the tolerance of the Princes, the example and protection of Olga, and the very delay and hesitation of Vladimir in selecting his religion, must have favourably disposed the minds of the people towards it; especially if it be true, as has been asserted, that Russia had already had a Bishop in the time of Oskold. In a similar way, though under different circumstances, in the vast Roman empire, the conversion of Constantine the Great suddenly rendered Christianity the dominant religion, because, in fact, it had long before penetrated among all ranks of his subjects.

Vladimir engaged zealously in building churches throughout the towns and villages of his dominions, and sent Priests to preach in them. He also founded many towns all around Kieff, and so propagated and confirmed the Christian religion in the neighbourhood of the capital, from whence the new colonies were sent forth. Neither was he slow in establishing schools, into which he brought together the children of the Boyars, sometimes even in spite of the unwillingness of their rude parents. In the mean time the Metropolitan, with his Bishops, made progresses into the interior of Russia, to the cities of Rostoff and Novogorod, everywhere baptizing and instructing the people. Vladimir himself, for the same good end, went in company with other Bishops to the district of Souzdal and to Volhynia. The Boyars[17] on the Volga and some of the Pechenegian[18] Princes embraced the gospel of salvation together with his subjects, and rejoiced to be admitted to holy Baptism.

The pious Prince wished to see in his own capital a magnificent temple in honour of the Birth of the most holy Virgin, to be a likeness and memorial of that at Cherson, in which he himself had been baptized; and the year after his conversion he sent to Greece for builders, and laid the foundation of the first stone[19] cathedral in Russia, on the very same spot where the Varagian[20] martyrs had suffered. But the first

CHAP. I.

II. Leontius.

metropolitan was not to live to its completion; only his holy remains were buried in it, and were thence translated afterwards to the Pecherskay[21] Lavra. Another metropolitan, Leontius, a Greek by birth, sent by the same patriarch Nicholas, consecrated the new temple, to the great satisfaction of Vladimir, who made a vow to endow it with the tenth[22] part of all his revenues; and from hence it was called The Cathedral of the Tithes.

These tithes, according to the ordinance[23] ascribed to Prince Vladimir, consisted of the fixed quota of corn, cattle, and the profits of trade, for the support of the clergy and the poor; and besides this there was a further tithe collected from every cause which was tried; for the right of judging causes was granted to the bishops and the metropolitan, and they judged according to the Nomocanon[24]. The canons of the holy councils and the Greek ecclesiastical laws, together with the holy Scriptures, were taken from the very first as the basis of all ecclesiastical administration in Russia; and together with them there came into use some portions also of the civil law of the Greeks, through the influence of the Church. The care of the new temple and the collection of the tithes for its support was entrusted to a native of Cherson named Anastasius, who enjoyed the confidence of Vladimir and his successors.

The light of Christianity had now been diffused throughout the whole of Russia; but still the faith was nowhere as yet firmly established, because there were no bishops regularly settled in the towns. The Metropolitan Leontius formed the first five dioceses[25], and appointed Joachim of Cherson to be bishop of Novogorod, Theodorus of Rostoff, Neophytus of Chernigoff, Stephen the Volhynian of Vladimir, and Nicetas of Belgorod. Assisted by Dobrina, the uncle of the Great Prince, who had long governed in Novogorod, the new Bishop Joachim threw the statue[26] of Peroun into the Volkoff, and broke down the idolatrous[27] altars without any opposition on the part of the citizens; for they too, like the inhabitants of Kieff, from their comparative degree of civilization and from

996.

CHAP. I.

their relations of intercourse with the Greeks were in all probability already favourably disposed for the reception of Christianity. Tradition asserts, that even as far back as the time of St. Olga the Hermits Sergius and Germanus lived upon the desolate island of Balaam in the lake Ladoga, and that from thence St. Abramius went forth to preach Christ to the savage inhabitants of Rostoff.

The attempt to found a diocese at Rostoff was less successful. The first two bishops, Theodore and Hilarion, were driven away by the fierce tribes of the forest district of Meri, who held obstinately to their idols in spite of the zeal of Abramius. It cost the two succeeding bishops, St. Leontius and St. Isaiah, many years of extraordinary labour and exertion, attended frequently by persecutions, before they at length succeeded in establishing Christianity in that savage region, from whence it spread itself by degrees into all the surrounding districts.

Thus Vladimir[28], having piously observed the commandments of Christ during the course of his long reign, had the consolation of seeing before his death the fruits of his own conversion in all the wide extent of his dominions. He departed this life in peace at Kieff[29], and was soon reckoned with his grandmother Olga amongst the guardian saints of Russia. John, the third metropolitan, who had been sent from Constantinople upon the death of Leontius, buried the prince in the Church of the Tithes which he had built, near the tomb of the Grecian princess his wife, and the uncorrupted relics of St. Olga were translated to the same spot[30].

III. John. 1015.

CHAP. II.

FURTHER ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FAITH.

THE FIRST MONASTERIES.

Family quarrels broke out amongst the sons of St. Vladimir. After his decease the eldest brother Sviatopolk endeavoured by his intrigues to appropriate to himself the appanages of his younger brothers, and succeeded in treacherously murdering three of them. But the death or rather martyrdom of Boris and Gleb recoiled upon his own head, and crushed under him his bloody throne, which passed to Yaroslaff prince of Novogorod the avenger of his brethren.

The untimely end of the young princes, who tenderly loved each other, is described in an affecting manner by Nestor. The murderous sword cut them off both together while in the act of prayer: both together as pure sacrifices, sprinkled with their own innocent blood, they presented themselves before the Lord; and the Church being assured of their sanctity by the incorruption of their virgin bodies and by many signs of healing, soon began to ask their assistance in her prayers.

The long reign of the great Yaroslaff, notwithstanding his foreign wars with Boleslaus king of Poland, with the Greeks, the Pechenegians, and other neighbouring nations, and notwithstanding his domestic quarrel with his brother Mistislaff of Tmoutaracan[1], was decidedly the most flourishing period of antiquity for Russia, which was at length all united under his powerful sceptre. Christianity was

CHAP. II.

established far and wide, as he himself was filled with the spirit of piety, and was ever anxious for the good of the Church. His two ordinances which are extant, the one exempting the spirituality from all civil duties and payments, the other confirming to the bishops the right granted them by St. Vladimir of judging in all causes of marriage, inheritance, and sacrilege, as well as in all that related to the external or internal discipline of the Church, bear witness to Yaroslaff's good disposition in spiritual matters. Whilst he was desirous to secure the interests of his people by the enactment of a body of civil law, he gave no less attention to the subject of ecclesiastical legislation; and by his orders the Nomocanon was translated from the Greek, that our native bishops, now beginning to succeed into the places of those who had come at first from Constantinople, might be able to guide themselves by its rules. He himself gave much time and pains to the study and translation of a variety of Church books which he had collected into a library on the spot where the metropolitan resided[2]; and he set up schools in Kieff and Novogorod for the education of those of the children of clergy or laity who might be preparing themselves for holy orders.

Three magnificent monuments of the glorious times of Yaroslaff still remain to us; the cathedral of St. Saviour, which was founded at Chernigoff by the Prince Mistislaff, and is the most ancient of all the sacred edifices of Russia; the temple of St. Sophia in Novogorod, erected by Vladimir, son of Yaroslaff, who died while only a youth, and was buried there together with his mother; this church has not suffered materially either from wars or time, but has been preserved in all its grandeur, as a jewel above price to our country; lastly, in Kieff there is the metropolitical church of St. Sophia, which was built by the Great Prince Yaroslaff himself on the spot where he had gained the victory over the Pechenegians. The high-sounding name of St. Sophia pleased the prince, who wished to reproduce in his own capital the monuments of Byzantium, and was

delighted that even in his time it already enjoyed the reputation of being a second Constantinople[3]. He had called one of its gates The Golden, as if in memory of those gates at Constantinople, on which his ancestor Oleg had hung his victorious shield; but Yaroslaff still more ardently desired that that temple of the Divine Wisdom, St. Sophia, in which his father's ambassadors had first believed on the true God, should be copied at least in name, if not altogether in structure, in his two capitals of Kieff and Novogorod, as Vladimir had erected the cathedral of the most holy Virgin in memory of that at Cherson in which he was baptized. The Metropolitan Theopemptus, who had been sent by the Patriarch Alexis Studites[4], consecrated the cathedral of St. Sophia, and it has stood even to our own times, together with the marble tomb of its founder, through all the storms of the Mongolian invasion, and the frequent sackings of Kieff. It is not indeed, it is true, in so perfect a state of preservation as that at Novogorod, but still it retains its original form and appearance, at least up to the arches, whilst the church of the Tithes, on the contrary, has been levelled to its foundations.

CHAP. II.

IV. Theopemptus. 1037.

Theopemptus is the first of the metropolitans who is mentioned in the Chronicle of Nestor, which is silent respecting his three predecessors and speaks only of bishops, possibly because the title of metropolitan came more into popular use after the foundation of the metropolitical residence adjoining the church of St. Sophia. We must attribute it to the resentment which Yaroslaff entertained against the Emperor Constantine Monomachus for having put out the eyes of the Russian prisoners, that on the conclusion of his last war with the Greeks, the Great Prince called together the Russian bishops to elect a new metropolitan from among themselves in the room of Theopemptus who was dead, without taking any notice of the patriarch. The pious Priest Hilarion was chosen and consecrated by the synod: but this temporary infraction of ecclesiastical order was speedily made good by a benedictory letter which Hilarion sought and obtained from the Patriarch

V. Hilarion. 1051.

CHAP. II.

Michael Cerularius. During the time that this prelate occupied the metropolitical throne, there came three Greek chaunters from Constantinople and introduced the Church-song called The Domestic[5] for eight voices or tones, which in several places is still preserved in all its ancient simplicity. Yaroslaff also in his time founded two monasteries in Kieff, one for men by the name of his own angel St. George near the Golden gates, the other for women, which he called after St. Irene[6] the angel of his consort.

Notwithstanding that the foundation of the Vidoubetz[7] Monastery is ascribed to the first Metropolitan Michael, and notwithstanding that there were other religious houses in Kieff, founded by the zeal of the boyars, still to a simple and obscure hermit belongs the glory of having been the father of religious celibacy in Russia, and of having made his own poor retreat a nursery for the monastic life: and this during a period both of many external alarms, and of civil feuds caused by the three sons of Yaroslaff, who purpled with gore the soil of Russia, which was only preserved by the prayers of St. Anthony and St. Theodosius. "Many monasteries," says Nestor, as he is describing the origin of the Pecherskay Lavra[8], "have been founded by princes and nobles, and by wealth, but they are not such as those which have been founded by tears, and fasting, and prayer, and vigil; Anthony had neither gold nor silver, but he procured all by prayer and fasting."

It is very remarkable that at the beginning of monasticism in our country there should have been a recurrence of the names of those great Hermits Hilarion, Anthony, and Theodosius, who once flourished in the deserts of Palestine and Egypt, and were now reflected, as in a mirror, in the pure lives of their Russian imitators and namesakes. The Metropolitan Hilarion when he was as yet only priest of the Church of the holy Apostles in Berestoff, the favourite residence of the Princes Vladimir and Yaroslaff, was accustomed to retire for seclusion and prayer into the silent forest on the beautiful banks of the Dnieper; and there, having

taken an affection to a certain picturesque site on a hill, he dug himself out a dark cave or Pesch, the germ of the future Lavra, and of all the religious houses of Russia. Not long afterwards another hermit came and settled himself in it, for the place was already consecrated by the holy life of Hilarion.

An individual named Anthony, a native of Lubetch[9], travelling abroad, visited Mount Athos, and conceived a desire to finish his days there in the monastic state: but the hegumen who gave him the tonsure, as if foreseeing his high vocation, enjoined on him to return to his own country. The humble Anthony obeyed, and brought with him the blessing of the Holy Mountain. He went over all the monasteries of Kieff; but his soul, thirsting for contemplation, could find no resting-place for itself any where but in the deserted cave of Hilarion. There Anthony established himself; though during the forty years continuance of his spiritual course he was twice driven away by the disturbances caused him by the princes and boyars, who soon discovered that he was living among the woods in the neighbourhood of Kieff. The Great Prince himself, Isyaslaff the son of Yaroslaff, on one occasion paid him a visit with his suite; and the hermit foretold to him, and to his two brothers, their disastrous defeat by the Poloftsi, on the banks of the Alta. Twelve disciples having collected themselves together about him, he set Barlaam over them as hegumen, and gave them his blessing to begin building a wooden church, to be called after the Rest or Assumption of the Mother of God, on the site of the former one, which was under ground: but he himself, to avoid the interruptions and disquietudes of governing, shut himself up in another cell, which he had excavated at a little distance, and there spent the rest of his days in prayer. But in the mean time, before this took place, when the Great Prince had taken the Hegumen Barlaam to preside over his newly-founded Monastery of Demetrius, Anthony proposed to the brethren for their superior the humble Theodosius, to whom was to belong

CHAP. II.

the glory of finally establishing the monastery, and of completing the blessed beginning of Anthony.

Theodosius seeing the brethren continually multiplying around him and already amounting to a hundred, wrote out for them the Rule of the Studium Monastery, the strictest of all in Constantinople, which a monk, who came with George the new metropolitan, had brought with him from that city. The manner in which the monks were to chaunt, the bowings and prostrations, the reading, and the whole order of Church service, and even their diet, was fixed by this Rule; Theodosius added to it a supplement which consisted of spiritual instructions of his own, on praying without ceasing, on the means of preserving one's self from evil thoughts, on mutual charity, obedience, and diligence in labour; and it passed afterwards as a model into all the religious houses of our country, many of which were founded by monks from the Pechersky, whilst the rest looked up to it and sought to imitate so illustrious an example. In this manner the blessing of Athos was spread abroad from it on all sides, together with the Rule of Studium. The annalist Nestor, who has preserved to us in his simple but authentic narrative the traditions of the sacred antiquity of Russia, was an eye-witness of the life and actions of Theodosius, when he established the Lavra, and entered himself into its retirement in the seventeenth year of his age, so making it the cradle of our history.

The Princes Isyaslaff, Sviatoslaff, and Vsevolod, who successively ascended the throne of Kieff, were all full of veneration for the holy recluse Theodosius, and paid attention to his godly instructions, although he hesitated not to rebuke one of them, Sviatoslaff, for unjustly usurping his brother's throne. With his assistance, Theodosius procured skilful architects from Greece, and founded the spacious stone Church of the Assumption[10] in the place of the original poor one of wood. But like nearly all great founders, who have seldom been permitted to see the outward magnificence of their foundations, Theodosius was obliged to content himself

with the inward beauty of the Lavra, and departed to his rest in the cells which he had dug out with Anthony. His successors Stephen, and Nikon, the great assistant of Anthony, continued the building, which was finished by the Hegumen John, and consecrated before the end of the reign of the Great Prince Vsevolod by the Metropolitan John III. By order of the same hegumen the annalist Nestor opened the cell or cave in which were the uncorrupted relics of Theodosius, and an assembly of bishops and princes solemnly translated them into the new temple. The names of Anthony and Theodosius began to be invoked in prayer from the time of the reign of Sviatopolk as the guardians of Kieff, and the fathers of all who lived a life of religious retirement in our country; for the Lavra shot its roots deep into the soil of Russia, and its beneficent influence shewed itself not only in monastic seclusion, but also in the halls of princes, and on the thrones of prelates. It gave its monks to the Church; Stephen to be bishop of Belgorod, St. Isaiah to be the first illuminator of Rostoff, St. Nicetas to be *Lord*[11] of Novogorod, and, according to some accounts, Ephraim to be metropolitan of all Russia. Some of them preached the name of Christ to the heathen, and died the death of martyrs; as Gerasimus, the first illuminator of the savage Vess in the northern quarters, as Kouksha and Pimen, who suffered for the word of God on the banks of the Oka, while engaged in the conversion of the Viatichi. Others, whose names are too many to be reckoned, and whose uncorrupted bodies still tenant the same caves, supplied examples in their seclusion of the practice of all the virtues. Among these latter was a son of Nicolas prince of Chernigoff, who was surnamed The Devout from his sanctity and humility. He however was not the first of Russian princes who adopted the monastic life: Soudeslaff, the unfortunate son of the great Vladimir, who was thrown into prison at Pskoff by his brother Yaroslaff, and after twenty-eight years' confinement was set at liberty by his nephews, received the tonsure in the monastery at Kieff before any other of his

CHAP. II.

rank, and so became the first of the line of princely recluses in our country. But I have been seduced by the glories of the Pechersky into a digression from the regular course of ecclesiastical events.

CHAP. III.

RESIDENCE OF THE METROPOLITANS AT KIEFF.

CHAP. III. VI. George. 1072.

The Metropolitan George, who was sent by the Patriarch John Xiphilinus early in the reign of Isyaslaff, translated with much solemnity the holy relics of the Princes Boris and Gleb to the new church of Vishgorod, which had been built on purpose to receive them. The faith of this prelate in the sanctity of the royal martyrs had been but wavering at first, but his doubts were altogether overcome by a miracle which was wrought over[1] their remains, and he then instituted a festival to their honour. In the account of this translation we find mention made in the Chronicles for the first time of the following bishops; Michael of Yurieff, Peter of Pereyaslaff, and John of Colma; and we may conclude that these three new dioceses were constituted about the same period, in consequence of the continually increasing spread of Christianity in the South of Russia.

The meek and timid George retired to Constantinople to escape from the civil feuds of Isyaslaff and his brethren, during the continuance of which his flock was exposed to the invasion of Boleslaus king of Poland, and to the encroachments of Rome: for the ambitious pope, Gregory the Seventh[2], offered military support to Isyaslaff, and stipulated that in return he should make his submission to the Roman See: and this was the first attempt of the Western pontiffs upon Russia. But Isyaslaff having regained his throne without foreign assistance, disappointed the schemes of Gregory, and being confirmed in the Faith of his fathers by Theodosius the zealous and orthodox hegumen of the Pechersky, persevered

CHAP. III.

in it to the end of his troubled life[3]. Another great luminary was now ready to appear in the person of the Metropolitan

VII. John II. 1080.

John II., who was appointed by the Patriarch Eustratius[4], and fed as a shepherd the Church of Russia for nine years. Nestor speaks of him with particular affection, describing him as a man well skilled in learning, very charitable to orphans and widows, courteous to rich and poor alike, humble, silent, and reserved, visiting the afflicted, and ministering to them consolation out of the holy Scriptures. In the MS. copies of the Kormchay[5], or Russian Nomocanon, there is preserved a composition of his with the title of "Rule of the Church for sundry cases of conscience." "There will never be his like again in Russia!" exclaims the cotemporary annalist; comparing him perhaps, at the time when he wrote, with his suc-

VIII. John III. 1089.

cessor John III., a plain, ignorant man, whom Anna, the daughter of the Great Prince Vsevolod[6], had brought with her from Constantinople, from the Patriarch Nicolas Grammaticus. She afterwards founded a convent for nuns and a school at Kieff. Another of her sisters, Eupraxia, also took the veil and died a nun; which was the less to be wondered at, since their father himself was a man full of piety and of love for the clergy, who was constantly founding monasteries, and bestowing rich presents upon churches.

IX. Ephraim. 1096.

The name of the Metropolitan Ephraim stands on the roll of the prelates of Kieff next after that of John, who died the year after his accession: but the Chronicles do not agree in the accounts they give of him. Some make him to have been a Greek, and sent by the same patriarch as his predecessor; others a Russian, of the suite of Isyaslaff, who received the tonsure and became a monk in the caves of Anthony; Nestor says nothing of any Metropolitan Ephraim, but only speaks of a bishop of Pereyaslavla of that name as the senior prelate of the synod which translated the remains of St. Theodosius, and as the builder of the celebrated cathedral of St. Michael in Pereyaslavla. Perhaps after the death of John III., which took place so soon, there was no other metropolitan sent for some time from Constantinople, and

Ephraim, who lived in the neighbouring diocese of Pereyaslavla, administered the vacant diocese of Kieff, being respected for his Christian virtues and especially for his charity to the poor; for he had established hospitals with physicians to serve gratuitously in the different towns. His death is supposed to have occurred in the year 1096, when the khan of the Poloftsi[7], Boniak, suddenly assaulted Kieff, destroyed its suburbs, and burned the Pecherskay Lavra.

But there are yet further difficulties in the Chronicles respecting this Metropolitan Ephraim. According to Nikon's catalogue, Luke Jedyata, bishop of Novogorod, who had been chosen moreover by the great Yaroslaff, was, through the slanders of some of his own household, cited to appear before this metropolitan in his court at Kieff, and was there detained for the space of three years, until his character could be completely cleared: but according to the chronological reckoning, this event ought to be referred to some date before Hilarion had ceased to be metropolitan; and from hence several writers have even ventured to conjecture that Hilarion took the name of Ephraim, together with the Schema[8] or Great Angelic Habit, and bore it at the time of his death. However that may be, the trial of the bishop of Novogorod, who already at that time had exclusively the title of *Lord*, on account of his share in the government of this independent town, shews how great was the power of the metropolitan over the bishops who were subject to him throughout the whole of Russia. Their election depended sometimes on the princes, either on the Great Prince or on the inferior appanaged princes, sometimes on the will of the primate, but they were all consecrated by the primate in person, and were subject to his jurisdiction and visitation; in the same way as the metropolitans themselves, who were always appointed at Constantinople, depended in spiritual matters upon the patriarch, and so preserved the infant Church of Russia in unbroken connection with the Church of Greece.

Already in the reign of Sviatopolk the son of Isyaslaff, the eldest of the grandsons of the great Yaroslaff, our attention is

CHAP. III.

drawn to those bitter feuds of the appanaged princes, which eventually caused the entire dismemberment of Russia and her subjection to the Mongols. However, notwithstanding the weak and deceitful character of Sviatopolk, the other princes still respected the superior authority of the throne of Kieff, and the rights of primogeniture. For when Oleg of Chernigoff, the turbulent son of Sviatoslaff, together with his brethren raised an insurrection against the Great Prince, he was put down by the valiant son of Vsevolod, Vladimir Monomachus[9], who at the same time reconciled the appanaged chieftains at the general session or assize of the princes. His sword, everywhere attended by victory, repelled also the savage enemies of the South of Russia, the Poloftsi, who leading a wandering life on the steppes of the Don and the Black sea, kept the Eastern frontiers in a state of continual alarm by their incursions, until they were themselves destroyed by the Mongols. But the perfidious cruelty of Sviatopolk in putting out the eyes of the Prince Basilko, at the instigation of his relative David prince of Volhynia, roused Monomachus and all the sons of Sviatoslaff to vengeance. They marched up to Kieff behind the walls of which the Great Prince lay trembling; when suddenly there appeared as a peace-maker in the camp of the incensed brethren the new Metropolitan Nicolas: "We beseech thee, O prince," said he, "thee and thy brethren, that ye will not be so unnatural as to ruin your own country of Russia; for know that if ye begin to fight among yourselves, the unbelievers will rejoice, and will take away from us our land, which your fathers and grandfathers won by great toil and valour in all their wars in Russia: they sought even to conquer other countries, but ye now go about to ruin your own."

X. Nicolas. 1098.

There remained in Kieff a monument of the reign of Sviatopolk in the monastery of St. Michael with its gilded domes, which he built and named after his angel or patron saint; and in its magnificent church were deposited the relics of the illustrious martyr St. Barbara, which had been brought from Greece by Barbara daughter of the emperor of

Constantinople, and first wife to Sviatopolk. There the same holy treasure is even yet preserved. The Metropolitan Nicephorus, a Greek by birth, who had been appointed by the Patriarch Nicolas, consecrated the new church, and during the fifteen years that he sat, shewed himself a worthy fellow-labourer to Monomachus. The eloquent and edifying letters which he addressed to him have been preserved. They were both men of great and enlightened minds, far outshining all their contemporaries, and set as twin models of Christian virtue, the one on the kingly, the other on the episcopal throne. The glory of Vladimir spreading far and wide, procured for him, in addition to the power, the crown and title of King. According to the account given in the Books of the Genealogies, the Greek Emperor Comenes sent him as a present the Crown, the Holy Barma[10], and the life-giving Cross, the same which are now preserved in the Treasury at Moscow; and Neophytus the metropolitan of Ephesus, who brought these regalia from Constantinople, performed for the first time upon Monomachus, in the cathedral of St. Sophia, the sacred ceremony of Coronation, which was to serve as the model for all subsequent Coronations of Russian Sovereigns.

To Nicephorus is ascribed the formation of a new diocese at Polotsk, where he appointed Mina to be bishop; we cannot however affirm with certainty that he was the first ever consecrated to that See, for it seems very improbable that the principality of Polotsk, which was less dependent than the rest upon Kieff, and ruled as an appanage by powerful princes, the eldest of the whole race of the posterity of St. Vladimir, should have remained so long without having its own separate bishop. The same may be fairly conjectured of Smolensk, one of the most ancient cities in all Russia, whose bishops begin to be reckoned still later, and the Chronicles do not even agree as to their names. Some name Michael or Manuel as the first, who was made bishop by the Metropolitan Michael II.; others place two bishops, Ignatius and Lazarus, before Manuel; but Nestor speaks of the formation of the first dioceses in a very general and indeterminate manner. The

CHAP. III.

lips of this father of Russian history closed about the year 1116, and another learned monk, Silvester, hegumen of the Vidoubetz monastery, became the continuator of his Chronicle, and carried it down to the year 1124. From this point the men who succeeded to the same pious work have concealed their names, but the history of Russia still continued to be written by the hand of some unknown monk, in the solitude and quiet of his cell, through all the storms and revolutions of the outer world.

About this same period, during the episcopate of St. Nicetas, who had been a monk of the Pechersky monastery, two celebrated religious houses were founded in Great Novogorod; one, the Yurieff monastery, by the zeal of Prince Mistislaff, though some traditions refer its foundation to Yaroslaff the Great; the other, that of St. Anthony the Roman, who sailed from the West up the Volkoff, and lived as a hermit on its banks near the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, which he is said to have built. In like manner as in Novogorod and Kieff, so also in many other chief district-towns, wherever the dawn of spiritual enlightenment so much as penetrated, monasteries were gradually formed, which spread it abroad over all the surrounding parts; and the word of God, carried about by holy solitaries, was let fall into the depths of the vales and forests as the quickening seed of a future life, which should bring forth its fruit in due season.

XII. Nicetas. 1124.

The successor of the wise and learned Nicephorus, Nicetas, consecrated to be metropolitan by the Patriarch John, buried the Great Monomachus[11] in the cathedral of the Assumption, amidst the tears of Russia. He was also witness of another great calamity, a dreadful conflagration, which destroyed, according to the account of the Chronicles, as many as four hundred churches and chapels in Kieff[12], which proves to what a flourishing state the capital must have already attained. He sat only for a short time. Michael II., who was sent by the same patriarch during the reign of Mistislaff the son of Monomachus, anxiously sought to extinguish those civil feuds which had arisen. In the first place he appointed a great

XIII. Michael II. 1127.

churchman, Niphont, to be bishop of Novogorod, quelled an insurrection of the people by the threat of his episcopal interdict[13], and even went thither himself to restrain the tumultuous citizens from going to war with the district of Souzdal; but the threats of Michael and his prophetic denunciations of their defeat were not attended to by the turbulent assembly[14], and it was only their fulfilment in deed which could reduce the citizens of Novogorod to a temporary calm. Afterwards upon the death of the warlike Great Prince Mistislaff[15], in whom the power of Monomachus was extinguished, the metropolitan reconciled his feeble successors to one another; that is, his brother Yaropolk[16] with his nephews who were in arms against him, and Viacheslaff[17] with the powerful prince of Chernigoff Vsevolod[18], son of Oleg, who had wrested the power and title of Great Prince out of his hands: but wearied at length with the unceasing family quarrels of the princes, he retired to Constantinople, and there ended his days, having retained the dignity of metropolitan of Kieff till his death.

At that time Russia, throughout all her wide extent, exhibited a sad spectacle of disunion. A feud which was to last for a whole century burst forth into a flame between the reigning house of Monomachus, which was supported by the affections of the inhabitants of Kieff and by the popular recollections of the life and exploits of the great Vladimir, and the house of Oleg of Chernigoff, which represented the eldest branch, and so had in its favour the right of primogeniture above all the Russian princes. The appanaged princes engaging in the dispute respecting the great princedom, weakened its beneficial influence on the other parts of the state, while the incursions of the Poloftsi kept the whole South of Russia in a state of constant military excitement, until all perished together under the dreadful devastation of the Mongols. In the mean time new and independent principalities were formed in the West and in the North, and rose into power in proportion as Kieff declined. Vladimirko son of Volodar of Volhynia, partly by force of arms, and partly by his artful policy, founded a powerful princi-

CHAP. III.

pality at Galich, which made rapid advances during the long reign of his successor Yaroslaff. Some feeble glimmerings of Christianity began to penetrate into Lithuania from the neighbouring principality of Polotsk, which was a constant object of hostility to the house of Monomachus, and gradually fell under its attacks. Novogorod, while contending with the Swedes on its frontier, contributed to the spread of Christianity in the northern districts, and, in its stormy assemblies, made and unmade its own princes, changing according as this or that of the rival houses had the advantage, now inviting a prince of the house of Oleg, and then again inclining to the descendants of Monomachus.

Another germ of the future power of Russia began to form itself in the very heart of its extensive monarchy. A son of Monomachus, Yury Dolgorouky[19], tired of waiting for the throne of Kieff, applied himself to the extension and improvement of his own patrimony, the district of Souzdal, by the conversion of the heathen, and by building towns, amongst which then first appeared the name of Moscow. Vladimir on the banks of the Kliasma was greatly enlarged during the reign of his valiant son Andrew Bogolubsky, and speedily rose to be the capital of an independent principality, which obtained all the prerogatives of the great princedom under another of his sons, Vsevolod. In the midst of this political dismemberment, the only thing which served as a pledge for the general unity was the confession of one and the same orthodox faith throughout all the limits of the kingdom. The bishops, as spiritual judges in their dioceses, and the hegumens of the religious houses, which were continually increasing in number through the piety of the princes, who themselves often finished in a cell their troubled days, served as mediators and peacemakers between the contending parties, and in the quality of ambassadors went backwards and forwards without danger between the hostile camps. Their dependence on the metropolitan involuntarily turned towards Kieff the attention of all Russia; while the primates themselves, who were sent to us from Constantinople, derived from that source a degree

of learning and enlightenment which rendered our country superior for the time to the whole of contemporary Europe. But the disorders of civil society had their effect also on the affairs of the Church.

Isyaslaff, successor of Vsevolod the son of Oleg and grandson of Monomachus, having been informed of the death of Michael at a time when the patriarchal throne of Constantinople was vacant, resolved not to have a Greek again for metropolitan, as he was displeased that Michael had absented himself from Russia. Following the example of Yaroslaff[20], he convoked together to Kieff a synod of Russian bishops; Onuphrius of Chernigoff, who presided, Theodore of Belgorod, Damian of Yurieff, Theodore of Volhynia, Manuel of Smolensk, and besides these, according to the Chronicle of the Pechersky, the following; Euthymius of Pereyaslaff, Cosma of Polotsk, and Joachim of Touroff, which last shews the existence of the new diocese of Touroff. They all agreed to take the election of a metropolitan into their own hands, without the patriarch's having any participation in the matter. Only one voice, that of St. Niphont of Novogorod, protested strongly against this infraction of Church unity, and of the canonical dependence of our hierarchy[21], without which the infant Church of Russia could not rightly subsist. He reminded them of the written engagement they had entered into with Michael, probably on the eve of his departure, that they would not celebrate the Liturgy synodically again in the church of Sophia, so long as they should be without a metropolitan; but his remonstrances were in vain, and he was even confined for a short time in the Pechersky monastery, in consequence of his having refused after the election to hold communication with the new primate.

XIV. Clement. 1197.

The choice of the synod fell upon Clement a monk of Smolensk and recluse of the Schema[22] or Great Angelic Habit, and the Bishop Onuphrius proposed[23], that as a substitute for patriarchal Consecration, they should in ordaining him lay on his head the hand of St. Clement, Pope of Rome, whose relics had been brought from Cherson by Vladimir.

CHAP. III.

It is remarkable, that both the native Russian metropolitans Hilarion and Clement, were chosen from the strictest order of recluses; but their piety could not remedy the irregularity of their appointments. The opinion of St. Niphont, the friend of the Princes Dolgorouky and Sviatoslaff of Chernigoff, and representative of the powerful state of Novogorod, which made use of him in all her political relations with the princes of both the contending houses, was of great weight: and so much the more so, as the new patriarch of Constantinople, Nicolas Musalon, wrote him letters of thanks and commendation for the zeal which he had shewn in behalf of the Church. For nine years this struggle was continued in the midst of civil dissensions, which ran so high at one time, that not even his sacred character of a monk could preserve the Prince Igor[24], son of Oleg, from being torn to pieces by the populace of Kieff, on account of the pretensions of his family and their feud with Isyaslaff[25]. But when Isyaslaff, in his turn, was compelled to fly into Volhynia, he took Clement with him, while Dolgorouky on his side despatched Niphont on an honorary embassy to the Patriarch Luke Chrysoberges to ask him to create another metropolitan; and during his short reign there arrived in consequence from Constantinople the Metropolitan Constantine, who condemned the acts of Isyaslaff and Clement, and even suspended for a time all the clergy whom the latter had ordained. The great Niphont had not however the consolation of seeing in Kieff the canonical primate, though he set out to meet him from Novogorod; he died before his arrival, and was buried in the catacombs of Kieff. His name was added to the catalogue of the saints, and he left behind him the glorious reputation of having been the Defender of all Russia.

XV. Constantine. 1136.

But the ecclesiastical dispute did not so end. For when, upon the death of Dolgorouky[26], Isyaslaff[27] of the house of Oleg, and Rostislaff of the house of Monomachus, were contending for Kieff, Mistislaff prince of Volhynia, who had not forgiven the Metropolitan Constantine for the synod which

condemned his father, expelled him from his see to Chernigoff, of which city he had formerly been bishop. There he ended his days, and shewed at his death an example of extraordinary humility, by ordering in his will, that his body should be cast out without the town, as unworthy of burial. The Prince Sviatoslaff, and Anthony the bishop, did not dare to disobey the will of the deceased; but on the third day, seeing that his remains had not been touched, they buried them honourably in the cathedral of St. Saviour.

XVI. Theodore. 1160.

While he and Clement were both yet living, a third metropolitan, named Theodore, was sent to Kieff from the same patriarch, at the joint request of the uncle and nephew, the Princes Rostislaff and Mistislaff[28], because the former did not recognise the election of Clement as canonical, while the latter had a personal dislike to Constantine. In the mean time, Andrew Bogolubsky, who was striving by all possible means to exalt above the other principalities his own capital, Vladimir, where he had erected a magnificent cathedral of the Mother of God, for the reception of a miraculous Icon brought from Greece, took occasion from the existing differences in the Church to ask for a separate metropolitan for himself from Constantinople. But the Patriarch Luke prudently declined granting his request for fear of breaking the unity of the Russian Church; he consented to no more than that the bishops of Rostoff should in future have their residence at Vladimir, and should gratify the piety of the prince by celebrating a festival in memory of the victory which he obtained over the Bulgarians on the same day with that of the Emperor Manuel over the Saracens. This festival is still observed annually on the first of August.

Nestor bishop of Rostoff, who had been deprived of his diocese by the Metropolitan Constantine, was then at Constantinople for the purpose of justifying himself before the patriarch; for, from the unhappy circumstances of the time, the dissensions of the hierarchy had been accompanied by a still greater mischief, in the dissemination of false doctrines among the people. Nestor was unjustly accused of violating

CHAP. III.

the rule of the Church for fasting. He was said to have forbidden men to break their fast even on the festivals of the Nativity and Epiphany, if they fell on the Wednesday or Friday. This uncanonical doctrine, which did not originate with him, was revived by a bishop named Leon, who had come into his diocese during his absence; and Bogolubsky, standing up for the orthodox doctrine, sent Leon first to be tried by the metropolitan in Kieff, and afterwards to Constantinople, where he was condemned by the patriarch himself. But immediately after Leon, there appeared a self-elected pretender to the diocese of Rostoff, in the person of Theodore, a monk of the Pechersky, who fraudulently obtained the rank of a bishop at Constantinople; his imposture, however, was soon discovered, and his austerities put an end to by the prince, who despatched the offender to Kieff, where he was put to death for the scandal he had caused in the Church.

The introduction of the rank and title of Archimandrite into the Pechersky monastery, and the giving to the monastery itself the names of Lavra and Stauropegia[29], by letters procured from the patriarch, is ascribed to the Metropolitan Theodore, and from the first archimandrite of the Pechersky, Akindynus, this new dignity passed into general use in the other Russian monasteries. With the blessing of the same metropolitan, the Prince Bogolubsky established a festival in honour of the memory of Leontius the first bishop of Rostoff, whose relics he had disclosed in laying the foundation of his new cathedral.

Clement, who had been metropolitan, was still living in Volhynia at the death of Theodore, and the Great Prince Rostislaff, yielding to the entreaty of his nephew Mistislaff, had resolved to ask the patriarch to restore him to the metropolitical throne; but his ambassadors met on the road a new metropolitan, John IV., coming to Russia from Constantinople. Rostislaff was so much displeased, that it was only the fear of causing a new schism in the Church, joined with the friendly entreaties of the Emperor Manuel, which

XVII. John IV. 1164.

could induce him to acknowledge the new primate, who, however, during the two years of his short administration, won the affections of all men, and left a blessed memory behind him. There has been preserved to us a letter[30] of exhortation which he wrote to the pope of Rome, probably Alexander III., on the peace of the Church; for at that time, as the schism was not of very long standing, there were still mutual attempts made occasionally on both sides to re-establish union. In Novogorod also the memory of John was held sacred; for the Lord Elias, whose monastic[31] name was also John, a man of holy life, was raised, the first of all Russian bishops, to the rank of archbishop[32] by this metropolitan, and the same title descended from him to his brother Gregory, a prelate of equal merit, in whose time the venerable Barlaam founded on the banks of the Volkoff his celebrated monastery of Khoutinsk, and afterwards, in like manner, to all the Lords of Novogorod. CHAP. III.

The heresy of Leon was revived at Kieff in the time of the Metropolitan Constantine II., who had been elected at the desire of Rostislaff[33] from amongst the Russian bishops; for the new prelate himself, from ignorance, held the opinion of Leon respecting the Fasts, and even convoked a synod at Kieff with the design of establishing this doctrine. But two men, who have since become illustrious by their writings, St. Cyrill the eloquent bishop of Touroff, and Polycarp archimandrite of the Pechersky, the continuator of the Lives of the Saints of Kieff or Patericon of Nestor, shewed themselves firm defenders of the true belief: the last-mentioned of the two even endured confinement for the word of truth. The pious writer of the contemporary Chronicle says that the city of Kieff itself suffered for the fault of her metropolitan; for in his time and that of the Great Prince Mistislaff[34] of Volhynia, who succeeded Rostislaff, eleven princes, who acknowledged Bogolubsky as their head, took by storm and sacked this mother of Russian cities, which lost from thenceforth her independence. Her rulers, retaining only the bare title of Great Prince, were appointed or displaced, for the XVIII. Constantine II. 1167.

CHAP. III.

most part, according to the pleasure of the princes of Vladimir or Galich, whilst the rival houses of Oleg in Chernigoff and of Monomachus in Smolensk ceased not in the mean time to carry on intrigues to possess themselves of that shadow of power which might yet belong to the name.

XIX. Nicephorus II. 1185.

The metropolitical throne of Kieff remained vacant about ten years after the death of Constantine, when Nicephorus II., a Greek by birth, was at length appointed to fill it by the patriarch Basil. He was a pastor filled with all the virtues of the first Nicephorus his namesake, and with love to his new country; but he laboured in vain to put an end to the feuds of its rulers. He even took upon his own soul an oath pledged by the Great Prince Ruric to his son-in-law Romanus of Volhynia, in order that he might be enabled by the breach of it to satisfy Vsevolod the powerful prince of Vladimir, who demanded for himself certain towns which had been promised to Romanus. At length this Romanus, who was already prince of Galich, got possession of Kieff, and in his treatment of his father-in-law the Great Prince Ruric, set the first example in Russia of forcing a man to receive the monastic tonsure against his will; while Ruric himself, on the other hand, affords a solitary instance of a man putting off from himself the quality of a monk, in that he returned to the world and re-ascended his throne after the death of his enemy. In consequence of these civil feuds, Kieff suffered yet again once more, and having been thus twice sacked she never recovered herself afterwards till her final fall in the great invasion of the Mongols.

XX. Matthew. 1201.

The new metropolitan, Matthew, was a witness of this calamity. He was sent from Constantinople shortly before its capture by the crusaders, and did his best, like his predecessors, to mediate between the princes, and succeeded in reconciling the Great Prince Vsevolod, surnamed the Red, with all the descendants of Oleg, to Vsevolod of Vladimir. At this wretched period of dissensions, the duty of peacemaker was inseparable from the dignity of the primate. In his time the men of Novogorod interfered for the first time in

ecclesiastical affairs, by expelling their Archbishop Metrophanes, and sending to the metropolitan for Consecration a monk of the monastery of Khoutinsk, named Anthony; but neither did he please the people. Both Lords submitted themselves to the judgment of the metropolitan, and the first was confirmed in his see, while the bishopric of Peremuishla was given to the other, which however he quitted for the episcopal throne of Novogorod, and was a second time expelled from thence, and yet again restored, but after all ended his days in the monastery of Khoutinsk: such was the inconstancy and turbulence of the citizens of Novogorod. This is the earliest occasion on which we find mention made of the diocese of Peremuishla, as well as of several others, Galich, Minsk, Loutsk, and Ostrog. The precise period when these were founded is unknown, but their foundation, whenever it took place, is an evidence of the then flourishing state of the south of Russia.

New dioceses were also formed in the North. Although Riazan depended on the episcopal jurisdiction of Chernigoff, still the Chronicle speaks of a certain bishop of Riazan named Arsenius, who was taken prisoner, together with the princes of that town, by Vsevolod brother of Bogolubsky. The district of Mourom, which afterwards became subject to the bishops of Riazan, had then already been Enlightened by holy Baptism through the zeal of its Prince St. Constantine, of the family of the princes of Chernigoff, and of his sons Michael and Theodore. The two sons of Vsevolod also, Constantine and George, having quarrelled after the death of their father, were not content to have only one bishop in common between Rostoff and Vladimir; each wished to have him reside in his own capital; and the Metropolitan Matthew satisfied both of them by erecting a new diocese for Vladimir, to which he consecrated Simon the hegumen of the monastery of the Nativity, a man distinguished by his virtues, and by his having written the Lives of the holy recluses of the Pechersky.

XXI. Cyrill I. 1205.

The metropolitan Cyrill, who succeeded Matthew, was this time sent from Nice, where the emperors and patriarchs had

CHAP. III.

taken up their temporary residence after their expulsion from Constantinople by the Latins. The cruel yoke, which weighed so heavily on the Greek empire, threw its shadow also even over our own country; for the Roman pontiffs began to act upon our frontiers through the arms of the Western Christians. The papal legate offered to Romanus prince of Galich the protection of the apostolic sword; but the chieftain pointing to his own proudly asked, "Has the pope any sword like this?" However, his youthful sons had already been driven out by Coloman king of Vengria and a Latin archbishop established in Galich. Mistislaff, the enterprising son of the valiant prince of Novogorod St. Mistislaff, took Galich by storm, and drove out the Roman clergy, but they speedily re-established themselves in this border district of Russia. In Novogorod too, the successors of St. Mistislaff, in conjunction with the princes of Pskoff and Polotsk, were obliged to contend with a new enemy, who had established himself on the neighbouring coasts of the Baltic.

1205. Bishop Albert had founded in Riga a new Order of Brethren of the Sword[35], who, uniting themselves afterwards with the powerful fraternity of the Teutonic Brethren, threatened our western provinces, and converted by force of arms the savage Lithuanians, who on the other side of their country, where they bordered upon Russia, were gradually enlightened by the mildest means.

Another most dreadful storm now came up from the East upon Russia, which was destined to groan under it for two hundred years:—the Mongols appeared! The Poloftsi, flying from before them, brought word that the barbarians had poured in upon their steppes, and our southern princes formed a coalition to repel the unknown enemy. A bloody battle was fought on the river Kalka. Three princes of the name of Mistislaff sustained it with desperate valour; but two, the Great Prince[36] and the prince of Chernigoff, fell in the action, while the third, the prince of Galich, was compelled to fly with a younger son of Romanus, the illustrious Daniel, to his own capital, where he ended his troubled days in

the habit of a monk. The barbarians retired; for this was only their advanced guard; but other innumerable hosts gathered themselves together in Central Asia under the command of Batius, the grandson of Genghis Khan, so as to fall upon Russia at an interval of twelve years after the bloody battle on the Kalka. Unhappily all this time was lost in internal feuds between the southern and the northern principalities, and the virtuous metropolitan Cyrill went twice to Vladimir to reconcile the Great Prince with the masters of Kieff[37], and with the princes of Koursk. The invasion of Batius reduced all to peace under the ashes of their ruined cities.

Riazan was the first to suffer; her princes, Oleg and Theodore, died the death of martyrs. When Vladimir was besieged, the Bishop Metrophanes, with the consort of the Great Prince, her daughters-in-law, and the boyars, shut themselves up in the cathedral church; there they all received the Holy Mysteries and the Schema, in token of preparation for death, from the bishop, and from the Lord the crown of martyrdom, amidst the smoke and flames of the burning temple. George[38] himself fell in battle on the banks of the Siti, while his nephew, Prince Basilko, became a martyr for the Name of Christ. All the towns of the districts of Rostoff and Souzdal were sacked and pillaged; an invisible hand protected Novogorod and Pskoff. Kozelesk, which was well defended by its youthful prince, suffered last of all, as Batius was on his march back from desolating the North.

After a year came the turn of Southern Russia. Pereyaslavla perished with its Bishop Simeon; Porphyry of Chernigoff was let go alive by the conqueror from his ravaged diocese. The Mongols surrounded Kieff, and struck with its antique beauty, offered to spare it, if it would surrender; but in the absence of all the Russian princes it was heroically defended by Demetrius, a boyar of Daniel prince of Galich. As became the mother and head of Russian cities, Kieff gave a lesson to all Russia in preferring a glorious end to the disgrace of slavery[39]. After a bloody siege, its walls and even every individual church was converted into a fortress by

CHAP. III.

the despair of the citizens; but the cathedral of St. Sophia, the church of the Tithes, the monastery of St. Michael, and the Pecherskay Lavra, were taken one by one: they were given up to desolation; and it is probable that the Metro-

XXII. Joseph. 1240.

politan Joseph, the unfortunate successor of Cyrill, perished with the rest in this general and fearful destruction, as there is no mention made of him afterwards in the Chronicles.

CHAP. IV.

RESIDENCE OF THE METROPOLITANS AT VLADIMIR.

XXIII. CYRILL II.

While our afflicted country presented nothing to the view but smoking ruins on all sides, out of which the inhabitants had fled into the woods, by the mercy of Providence there arose to succour her two valiant princes, Yaroslaff of Novogorod in the North, the brother of the Great Prince Vsevolod who had just perished, and Daniel of Galich in the South. These began to collect the people together, to rebuild and wall the towns, and raise the temples from their ashes, and they roused Russia from that state of stupor into which she had fallen after the horrors of the Mongols. Daniel, whose principality had not been so entirely ruined, and who was further removed from the Golden Horde of Batius, which had established itself on the banks of the Volga, had less to fear in what he did, and was the last of all the princes to give in his submission to the khan, whose yoke he was ever meditating to throw off. But Yaroslaff[1], whose towns had nearly all been reduced to ashes, was obliged to be the first to take upon himself the heavy yoke of the Mongols, who had settled in his neighbourhood, and go and make interest at the Horde to obtain for himself the title of Great Prince. There he found others also of the Russian princes; and in the midst of their involuntary abasement, it is agreeable to contemplate the Christian heroism of Michael of Chernigoff and his faithful Boyar Theodore, who received the crown of martyrdom at the hands of the enraged khan for their bold confession of the Name of Christ. Some years later, another victorious confessor, Romanus prince of Riazan, suffered in the same manner in the Horde, and shed his blood as a

CHAP. IV.

martyr for the redemption of his country and for the glory of God.

The prudent Yaroslaff was succeeded by a son still more distinguished than himself for bravery and virtue, Alexander, the hero of the Neva: he was prince in Novogorod, and was the firmest defence of Russia, beating off
1241. the Swedes in a bloody battle on the banks of the Neva, and the Brethren of the Sword under the walls of Pskoff. And now that the attempts made to convert Russia by force of arms had proved fruitless, the pope, Innocent IV., began to employ other means. Seeing the distressed condition of the Eastern Church, the patriarchs of Constantinople living as exiles at Nice, and Russia having been now already ten years without a metropolitan, the Roman pontiff sent to David of Galich the present of a regal crown, together with the proposition of a union of the Churches, and a crusade against the Mongols. The papal legates visited also the court of Alexander, and addressed him with flattering speeches; but the saint of the Neva refused decidedly either to receive their letters or listen to their solicitations. Daniel, however, owing to the neighbourhood of Vengria and Poland, acted more cautiously. He accepted the crown, and the title of King of Galich, but put off the proposition for a union of the Churches till there should be an œcumenical council; while in the mean time he sent Cyrill, a Russian
1250. whom he had selected, to Nice to the Patriarch Manuel II., to be consecrated to the dignity of Metropolitan of Kieff.

Never was there a more happy choice of a pastor. None but a truly Russian heart like that of Cyrill, could so lovingly have taken upon itself all the wounds of its country, or laboured so zealously as he did for their cure. During the course of his thirty years' administration, going about from one ruined city to another, he not only externally, but internally also and spiritually, repaired and re-edified the Church. As for himself, he certainly found no repose on the throne of ruined Kieff; and from his time to the establishment of two separate metropolitical sees, the life of the Russian primates

continued to be most laborious, and it was chiefly by their travels and visitations, that the divided and often discordant portions over so vast a space, were kept together as one whole.

From the ruins of the ancient capital, Cyrill went to the wasted towns of Chernigoff and Riazan, and to the new capital, which was scarcely yet restored. In Novogorod, which had escaped altogether, he found the Great Prince; and there he exercised for the first time his spiritual authority, by consecrating Dalmas as archbishop, in the room of the charitable Spiridion deceased. On another occasion, and in the capital itself, he had the happiness of going forth in joyful procession to meet Alexander, when he returned from the great Horde, which had been wandering in Central Asia, bringing back with him a peace, which continued only during his short and prudent reign.

Foreseeing that Sarai[2], the capital of the Golden Horde upon the Volga, must be for many years a central point and place of meeting for the Russian princes, the metropolitan took advantage of the favourable disposition which the heathen[3] khans manifested towards the clergy; for they not only did not require that they should be included in the census of the people, but even exempted from all imposts every man "who," to use their own expression, "looketh to the Lord God and serveth God-his Churches." He appointed Metrophanes to Sarai to be the first Bishop of Sarai and Podonsk, and to his successor Theognostes he gave the additional title of Pereyaslavla, that the memory of this ancient Russian diocese, which, with many others, now no longer existed since the desolating invasion, might not be lost. Theognostes succeeded in gaining the confidence of the khans to such a degree, that Mangou-Temir, who reigned after Batius, selected him as his ambassador to the patriarch of Constantinople, when the Metropolitan Cyrill was sending him in his own name to that capital. What the object of this mission was is unknown.

Upon the blessed decease of St. Alexander[4], who at the hour of death exchanged his princely mantle for the humble monastic Schema, the Metropolitan Cyrill, amidst the lament-

CHAP. IV.

ations of all his country, went out in procession to meet the incorrupt remains of their beloved prince, now brought back dead from the Horde to that same capital, where he had before so joyfully received him. Yaroslaff prince of Tver succeeded his brother; and in compliance with his wishes, the primate erected a new see in Tver, his paternal inheritance, and consecrated the virtuous Simeon to be its first bishop. He also performed another service for Yaroslaff, as a faithful subject to his lord, in reconciling him with the citizens of Novogorod, who had expelled him, and who were now become very powerful from their extensive commerce, and from their union with the Hanseatic League. The fear of an episcopal interdict overawed their turbulent assembly.

1274. But the most important as well as the most beneficial act of Cyrill's long administration, was his convocation of a synod at Vladimir, on the occasion of the Consecration of Serapion, archimandrite of the Pechersky, to be bishop of the capital, for the purpose of restoring the discipline of the Church, which had suffered from the civil calamities of the times.

Dalmas, Lord of Novogorod, St. Ignatius the illustrious pastor of Rostoff, Theognostes bishop of Sarai, and Simeon bishop of Polotsk, were present at the synod, and with one consent determined to enforce a strict examination into the fashion of life and age of all inferior clerks and laymen, before their Consecration to Holy Orders, and to root out all simoniacal practices in conferring such promotion. The synod applied itself also to the correction of abuses connected with some of the ceremonies of the Church, and touched on the administration of the mysteries themselves. It forbade the mixing of the holy chrism with oil, and the practice of using affusion instead of trine immersion in holy Baptism, which was probably creeping into our Churches through Galich from the West.

The Metropolitan Cyrill, as a true Russian, wished that the canons of the holy Fathers, the foundation of all ecclesiastical

discipline, should not be, to use his own expression, "veiled to us, as by a cloud, under the wisdom of the Greek tongue, but that they should shine clear and enlighten all with rational light:" accordingly he assiduously employed himself in their translation, and his useful labour has come down to our own times. This sage prelate died in Periaslavla-Zalessky, full of days and good works, during the unfortunate reign of Demetrius the son of Alexander Nefsky. His funeral was chaunted where he died by an assembled company of bishops, but his sacred remains were removed to the ancient capital. Cyrill II. was the last of the metropolitans of all Russia who was buried in the cathedral of St. Sophia, and worthily terminated that line of the tombs of our prelates, which had commenced from St. Michael.

XXIV. MAXIMUS.

For two years the Church remained in a widowed state after the death of Cyrill, from her wish to avoid having any relations with the Patriarch John Bekkus[5]; for though, since the year 1264, the Emperor Michael Palæologus had recovered his capital from the crusaders, yet both he himself and that patriarch were favourably inclined towards the doctrines of Rome. At length Joseph[6], having been restored 1283.
to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, sent into Russia as metropolitan Maximus, a Greek by birth, who during his primacy of twenty-two years exerted himself like his predecessor to establish order and discipline in the Church, and peace amongst the princes. The bloody quarrels of Demetrius and Andrew, the sons of Nefsky, brought new swarms of Tartars upon our unhappy country, and a feud broke out between the other branches of the same house, which recalled to mind the long rivalry between the descendants of Oleg and Monomachus.

Maximus was the first of the Russian metropolitans who went to the Horde; and though no Letters of privilege[7] from

CHAP. IV.

the khans running in his name have been preserved, we have every reason to conclude that he met with an honourable reception. The Mongols, while yet in a state of heathenism, looked with more favour on Christianity, than did the fierce followers of the Koran, and even when eventually converted to Mahometanism, they still maintained their former prudent policy. By protecting the Clergy they pleased the people, who were persuaded to submit and to be patient as the only way of avoiding the heaviest and most fearful calamities. Maximus on his return from the Horde, called together in Kieff a synod of the bishops beyond the Dnieper, the acts of which have not come down to us, but it was probably held with a view to prepare them for his final removal to
1299. Vladimir. Seeing the complete desolation of Kieff and all the southern parts, he transferred the ancient metropolitical throne to the new capital, still keeping the former title of metropolitan of Kieff and of all Russia; at the same time he took under his own administration the diocese of Vladimir itself, and translated Simeon, who had been its bishop, to Rostoff; while Souzdal, which had belonged to Vladimir, together with Nijny Novogorod, were erected into a separate diocese. But the residence of the metropolitans in Vladimir
1305. was only for a short period; Maximus is the only one of all the Russian primates who was interred in the glorious cathedral of Bogolubsky. Immediately after his time his successors established themselves in Moscow; for Vladimir ceased to be the capital, as the Great Princes[8] did not like it for a residence, but allowed themselves to live in their own appanages, each striving to increase his own paternal inheritance.

Thus Daniel the son of Alexander, prince of Moscow, in the course of his long and peaceful reign adorned Moscow with temples, and with the monastery of St. Daniel, his angel, where he himself put on the Schema and died. His appanage when he received it from his father was but trifling, but he left it to his son George a flourishing principality; and his confidence in his own strength inspired this haughty

prince, who was moreover the brother-in-law of the khan, with that rancorous jealousy against his lawful superior and uncle, Michael of Tver, which was only terminated by the spilling of much princely blood in the Horde, and by the destruction of the family of Tver, even to the third generation. First, Michael himself, by the intrigues of Yury, suffered the death of a martyr[9], and was added by the Church to the number of the saints; then his son Demetrius[10] fell, after having himself struck down Yury[11], the murderer of his father, in the very presence of the khan Usbek; and lastly, another son of Michael, Alexander[12], with his boy Theodore, was executed by order of the same khan, for having dared to put to death at Tver, Shefkal, one of his nobles, and the Tartars, who were endeavouring to introduce Mahometanism. John, surnamed Kalita[13], the crafty brother of George, availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the fall of the princes of Tver, to obtain from the khan the settlement in his own family of the throne of the Great Princedom. CHAP. IV.

XXV. ST. PETER.

While the yoke of the Mongols was pressing most heavily on Russia, and the glory of her princes was obscured by disgraceful civil feuds, the holy Metropolitan Peter was a faithful guardian and comforter of his flock. A Volhynian by birth, he had from his early youth devoted himself to the monastic life, and had presided over the small convent of Ratno, founded by himself in his native district. There the fame of his virtues reached the grandson of Daniel, who with the title of king reigned over all the south-west of Russia and the Lithuanian provinces; for Vœsheleg, the son of the heathen chieftain Mindovig, after having embraced Christianity against the will of his father, and propagated it within the sphere of his influence, shut himself up in a monastery, and voluntarily resigned his right of inheritance in favour of his relations, the princes of Galich. But the strength of their 1308.

CHAP. IV.

empire was short lived: another powerful heathen, Hedimine, established himself in Wilna, and soon wrested Kieff and all the eastern part of the principality out of the hands of the feeble sons of Yury, with whom failed the glorious race of Romanus of Galich, while his western provinces became the inheritance of Poland; and from that time the influence of the Roman Church, assisted by the heathen indifference of Hedimine and his son Olgerd, spread itself through the districts beyond the Dnieper.

Yury, like his great grandfather, wished to have the metropolitan in his own capital; and having heard that a certain hegumen named Gerontius had gone of his own accord from Vladimir to Constantinople with the intention of seeking to be consecrated to the office of primate, he by his entreaties persuaded the humble Peter, for the good of the Church, to go thither too for the same purpose, with a letter from himself to the patriarch. The petitioner of Yury's choice was consecrated by the most holy Athanasius to be metropolitan of all Russia. But on taking possession of his throne, St. Peter saw that the ancient capital was forgotten by the princes, and that all the life of the empire was now concentrated in the North; and he did not think of preferring the particular advantage of his own native district to the general good of the Church. Like his predecessor Maximus he removed his residence to Vladimir, though at the same time he did not cease to make journeys in every direction throughout Russia, to reconcile contending princes, to appoint bishops, and to regulate the affairs of the Church. His zeal to compose the differences of the princes of Bransk was very near costing him his life; he only escaped by taking refuge in the cathedral church.

Soon after Peter came to be metropolitan, a circumstance occurred which plainly revealed the depth of his Christian humility. Anthony bishop of Tver and son of the prince of Lithuania, envying his elevation, lodged a slanderous accusation against him with the patriarch, who sent his commissioner to try Peter. A synod met at Periaslavla-Zalessky, in which

Simeon bishop of Rostoff was present, together with the accuser and a venerable company of clergy and princes. The metropolitan, little caring to be great in this world, spake thus to the assembly: "I am not better than the Prophet Jonas; if I be the cause of this tempest, cast me out of the ship, and the tumult will be still." But when his innocence could not be hid, the meek prelate revenged himself upon his slanderer by these words: "Peace be with thee, my son! This was no deed of thine, but his, who from the beginning is the envier of the human race, the devil; as for thee, take care of thyself for the future, and for the past may God forgive thee!"

Notwithstanding this, on any occasion when not his own person but the Church was in danger of suffering, St. Peter acted with firmness in her defence. Thus he deprived and degraded the guilty bishop of Sarai, and by the threat of excommunication restrained Demetrius prince of Tver from falling upon Vladimir. He even went to the Horde itself with Michael, the unfortunate father of the same prince, as a true pastor conducting his children. There he obtained the general respect of the Khan Uzbek and the Mongols, who had lately embraced the lying imposture of the Koran; and the certificate which he received of the favourable disposition of Uzbek towards him served afterwards as a pledge to secure the good will of all succeeding khans: "Let no one injure the Catholic[14] Church, the Metropolitan Peter, the archimandrites, or the popes in Russia: let their lands be free from all tax and tribute; for all this belongs to God, and these people by their prayers preserve us: let them be under the sole jurisdiction of Peter the metropolitan, agreeably to their ancient laws: let the metropolitan lead his life in quiet and meekness, and let him pray, with a true heart, and without fear, for us and for our children: whosoever shall take any thing from any of the clergy, let him restore it threefold; whosoever shall dare to speak evil of the Russian Faith, whosoever shall injure any church, monastery, or chapel, let him be put to death[15]."

CHAP. IV.

The consideration which the primate enjoyed amidst the feuds of the princes of the different appanages, was the preservation of the whole empire, which was united together into one body only by the person of the metropolitan of all Russia. The Great Prince John, of Moscow, perceived all the importance of his spiritual authority, when by flattery and entreaties he persuaded the metropolitan to transfer his residence to his beloved patrimony of Moscow, which from that time became the capital. But St. Peter did not comply with the wish of John without the highest motives for doing so: he foresaw the future glory of Moscow while it was then as yet poor, and persuaded the prince to lay in it the foundation of the stone cathedral of the Assumption. "If thou wilt comfort my old age," said he, "if thou wilt build here a temple worthy of the Mother of God, then thou shalt be more glorious than all the other princes, and thy posterity shall become great. My bones shall remain in this city, prelates shall rejoice to dwell in it, and the hands of its princes shall be upon the neck of our enemies!"

Thus in the words of the ancient patriarch Jacob, the man of many labours, who in the hour of death foretold the lion strength of the tribe of Judah, St. Peter, also a man of many labours, when about to depart in peace from his pilgrimage, spoke in the spirit of prescience to John; and his word of commandment was obeyed, his prophecy was fulfilled. In that same temple, in the wall of which he prepared for himself beforehand a tomb, in the view of his uncorrupted remains, and as it were before the face and presence of the prelate himself, are crowned the successors of John, now no longer princes of Moscow only, or Vladimir, but rulers over the ninth part of the globe, which scarcely finds room upon its surface for one such empire as Russia.

It is affecting to every son of the Church and of his country, to observe the blessing of the Mother of God continually resting upon the land of Russia, which has placed itself for ever under her protection. The holy College or synod of the Apostles on Mount Sion at the time of her Rest, serves as the

foundation and type of all the College[16] or cathedral churches of our country. In the temple of the Mother of God at Cherson St. Vladimir was baptized, and to her honour he built the first cathedral, the cathedral of the Tithes. In the temple of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and on the festival of the "Rest" of the Virgin, who was herself the Temple of the incarnate Wisdom of God, the ambassadors of Vladimir first believed on the Lord, and Yaroslaff the Great built the two cathedrals of St. Sophia in Kieff and in Novogorod his capitals. The hermit Anthony, forming after the model of the Holy Mountain his cavern monastery, the cradle of the religious houses of Russia, consecrated it also to the Rest or Assumption of the Mother of God. Bogolubsky wished to build a new capital in the North, and laid the first stone of the magnificent cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir, in honour of that Icon of the Blessed Virgin which was painted by the Evangelist St. Luke. The ancient city of Rostoff is ornamented with a similar temple. Polotsk and Smolensk celebrate their festivals in honour of the most pure Virgin. Lastly, by the will of Providence Moscow is destined to become the head of Russia, and the aged Peter goes to establish himself there, holding as a child to the protection of our Lady, and in no other place than in the temple of her Rest seeks rest for himself, and glory and empire for Russia. By her name the Russian people also strengthened themselves in their battles; the warriors of Kieff, Novogorod, and Polotsk, fought for St. Sophia; the men of Vladimir, and the troops of Rostoff, Smolensk, and Moscow, for the house of the most holy Mother of God. This war-cry bore testimony to the piety of our ancestors; the cathedral church was the heart of each of their cities, and its name served as the pledge of victory. "For St. Sophia!" "For the House of the most holy Trinity!" resounded terribly in the ranks of Novogorod and Pskoff, when the hero-saints, Nefsky and Dovmont, overthrew the Swedes or the Sword-bearers. At the same time with the cathedral of the Assumption, John also founded in his new capital the temple of St. Saviour "In the Wood," thought to be the oldest

CHAP. IV.

of all in Moscow, and the cathedral of the Archangel, where he himself rests in peace. Around this sepulchre of the first Great Prince who was buried there, are ranged the tombs of the long line of his descendants, in genealogical order, a sepulchral chronicle of the Russian monarchy. The Kremlin, which was first built of wood by this same prince, enclosed even then within its crenelated wall the budding strength of Russia, and was as a roll, on which all its sacred history was afterwards to be inscribed.

CHAP. V.

RESIDENCE OF THE METROPOLITANS AT MOSCOW.

XXVI. THEOGNOSTES.

At the death of St. Peter, who was laid as an immovable foundation-stone of the metropolitical see in Moscow, Theognostes came from the patriarch as metropolitan, and settled himself in the residence of his predecessor; Kalita[1] alone could afford him a refuge in his peaceful principality: Galich had fallen, Kieff was already in the hands of Hedimine. Though a Greek by birth, Theognostes entered perfectly into the mutual relations of the Great Princes and those of the appanages; and during the whole of his twenty years' episcopate he steadily co-operated with John and his son Simeon the Proud in all their undertakings, by which he greatly assisted them towards the aggrandisement of the principality of Moscow; for the spiritual authority being always on the side of the Great Prince gave him a great preponderance. Thus Theognostes accompanied John in his expedition to Pskoff, when it refused to allow the departure of Alexander prince of Tver, though his presence had been required in the Horde, and overcame the resistance of the citizens by the terror of an ecclesiastical interdict, so preventing a renewal of the desolating ravages of the Mongols. On more than one other occasion, the turbulent city of Novogorod was reconciled to the Great Prince through his mediation. But his continual journeys through the widely-separated dioceses of Russia were burdensome to the clergy, and eventually even caused a complaint to be lodged by Moses the Lord of Novogorod with the patriarch.

In ecclesiastical matters Theognostes shewed remarkable firmness. When the holy Archbishop Moses, in spite of the

CHAP. V.

entreaties of the popular Assembly, had retired from the throne of St. Sophia, the citizens of Novogorod sent Basil, whom they had elected to supply his place, for Consecration to Vladimir in Volhynia, where the metropolitan then was; the inhabitants of Pskoff also, wishing to have a bishop to themselves, sent thither for the same end a certain Arsenius: but notwithstanding all their entreaties, and the requisition of the powerful heathen prince Hedimine, who had become master of Volhynia, Theognostes could not be persuaded to violate the order[2] of the Church. The Lithuanian prince respected the dignity of the metropolitan; he wished however to get possession of the person of the archbishop, but he took to flight, and saved himself by largesses from the danger of being pursued.

Basil was one of the most illustrious of the Lords of Novogorod, equally skilled in the management of civil and of ecclesiastical affairs. He did much to beautify the cathedral of St. Sophia, and through his relations of friendship with the metropolitan he had nothing to fear in his province from the Great Prince. Magnus, king of Sweden, being very zealous for the conversion of Novogorod to the Latin Church, entreated Basil to hold conference concerning the Faith with his ambassadors; but the Lord prudently declined entering into controversy, and referred them to the patriarch. The Patriarch Philotheus himself, in token of respect for his merit, sent him a blessing of some Vestments covered with crosses, and a white cowl[3], inasmuch as he had been consecrated to the episcopal order from the White Clergy[4]; and the use of this cowl passed afterwards to the metropolitans, probably when some or other of them were translated to Moscow from having been Lords of Novogorod.

The metropolitan, striving to eradicate those abuses which had crept into the monasteries from their subjection to the Tartar yoke, stood up firmly himself in the Horde for the right of the clergy, and even suffered persecution for their sake. It was a curious circumstance that Khanibek the son of Uzbek, demanded of him to be freed from the obligation of

those Letters of exemption and privilege, which had been granted by his father to St. Peter; as he wished to impose a tribute on the clergy, but dared not to break his father's word. The metropolitan here also maintained his high character; by personal gifts he saved himself from the wrath of the khan, while he preserved for the future the privileges of the Church.

The black vomiting, a kind of plague which raged at this time in Russia and over all Europe, carried off in one year the Great Prince Simeon[5] with his family, the Metropolitan Theognostes, and the Archbishop Basil. In place of Basil the citizens of Novogorod again brought in Moses, though now habited in the Schema, from his retirement. Three bishops assisted at the funeral of the Metropolitan Theognostes, and buried him, near the tomb of his holy predecessor, in the cathedral of the Assumption: these were, Athanasius of Volhynia, who had been expelled from his diocese by the prince of Lithuania; another Athanasius, first bishop of the re-established diocese of Columna; and St. Alexis, of the noble family of Plescheeff, who had been for the preceding twelve years vicar to the metropolitan, first in Kieff, and then afterwards in Vladimir and Moscow, during his frequent absences.

ST. ALEXIS.

Providence, which had chosen Alexis from his early years to be exercised in spiritual labours, strengthened him in his advanced age for the salvation of his country through a stormy period, under the feeble rule of John II., and during 1353.
the minority of his son Demetrius. The Horde still threatening in the East; on the West the growing power of Lithuania under Olgerd, who had gradually wrested from us our ancient inheritance; within, the turbulent independence of Novogorod and Pskoff, and the rivalry of the three powerful principalities of Tver, Riazan, and Souzdal, the sovereigns of which each assumed the title of Great Prince; such was the

CHAP. V.

political storm which Alexis had to oppose, and during the course of a primacy of twenty-four years he may truly be said to have taken the helm of the empire. He preserved for Demetrius till he came of age that inheritance, which his proud uncle had left to his weak father.

The unlooked-for arrival of Theodoret, a self-elected pretender, sent by the patriarch of Bulgaria[6], to claim the metropolitical chair of Russia, even before Theognostes was yet dead, put it into the mind of that prelate, with the approbation of the Great Prince, to ask the patriarch of Constantinople, Philotheus, to allow him to nominate Alexis as his successor. The consent of the patriarch arrived only after their deaths. But the new metropolitan had scarcely time to return from Constantinople, whither they had summoned him for Institution, when he heard that another metropolitan, named Romanus, had been consecrated for Russia by the will of the same patriarch; and he was obliged to undertake a second toilsome journey into Greece. However there was not one single diocese in Russia which would receive Romanus; he remained in Volhynia, where the Lithuanian princes had no wish that the pale of their conquests should continue subject to the spiritual authority of the metropolitans of Moscow.

The sanctity of Alexis soon became conspicuous even in the Horde itself. The khan, Khanibek, asked John to send him the chief pastor of Russia, whose prayers, he said, God never refused to grant, that he might heal his consort Taidoula of her sickness[7]; and Alexis, after having prayed at the tomb of the Metropolitan Peter, who had himself had the grace of miracles[8], departed with a firm faith for the Horde, and healed the sick. Extraordinary favour, and new Letters of privilege and exemption to the clergy, were a proof of the gratitude of the khan; but very soon after this, the troubles which broke out in the Horde on occasion of the murder of Khanibek by his son, obliged the metropolitan to go again to the Mongols. There in the presence of the ferocious Berdibek, he undauntedly maintained the rights of the principality of Moscow; and through the intercession of the mother of the

khan, whom he had recovered from her sickness, he was again dismissed with honour.

After this, Alexis never went beyond the limits of the Empire[9], but within it he was a strict reformer of the morals both of clergy and laity, whom he endeavoured to enlighten; at the same time he was peace-maker amongst the princes, and in the absence of Demetrius[10], who ever had recourse to his prudence for counsel, he presided in the court of the boyars, giving a preponderating influence to the Great Princedom over the other appanages. In vain did Demetrius, prince of Souzdal, who for a time bore the title of Great Prince, invite the prelate to himself to Vladimir; he refused to quit the tomb of The Wonder-worker, that is, of his predecessor St. Peter, and the youthful son of John[11]. He roused the fallen spirits of the citizens of the infant capital on the terrible invasion of Olgerd, and by this unlooked-for firmness frustrated his ambitious plans. The former capital of Kieff also, then subject to a foreign prince, Alexis would have raised up, if possible, from the desolation of those ruins, under which her ancient glories lay buried. The princes of Tver, who were at variance, the uncle against his nephews, and were dissatisfied with the judgment of Basil their own bishop, betook themselves to the arbitration of Alexis; and he kept with him at his court, as a pledge, a young relative of theirs, whom Demetrius had redeemed from captivity in the Horde. He interfered with equal authority and effect in a family feud between the two brother princes of Souzdal, the younger of whom had unfairly got possession of Nijny Novogorod: in order to compel them to be reconciled, he laid an interdict upon their capital by the lips of the meek hermit Sergius.

With the name of Sergius a new monastic world opens itself in the North. The commencement of his lonely hermitage in the woods near Moscow, is a point of as much importance in our history as the excavation of the caves of Anthony on the banks of the Dnieper; for he was destined to divide with Anthony the glory of having been the father

CHAP. V.

of monasticism in Russia. Sergius was born in Rostoff; when yet quite young he left the house of his parents, and together with his brother Stephen, settled himself in the thick woods in the neighbourhood of Radonege, where, however, he was soon left by his brother. In this wild solitude he resisted all manner of temptations, and lived among the wild beasts of the forest, until the report of his holy life drew disciples around him: they compelled him to go to Peryaslavla-Zalessky, to receive the holy order of priesthood from Athanasius, the bishop of Volhynia, who lived there. Sergius built by his own labour in the midst of the forest a wooden church, by the name of The Source of Life, the ever-blessed Trinity[12], which has since grown into that glorious Lavra, whose destiny has become inseparable from the destinies of the capital, and from whence on so many occasions the salvation of all Russia has proceeded.

Prelates and princes applied to Sergius not only for the sake of his spiritual instructions, but also to receive from him teachers, who had been trained to perfection by his converse in solitude, and who in their turn might be capable of influencing others by their good example: for from the appearance of Sergius there began among us, as it were, a second era and development of monasticism; and in the fulness of its light our unhappy country, which had been suffering so long under the plague of the Tartars, revived. Thus at the request of Vladimir the brother of the Great Prince, Athanasius, a disciple of Sergius, founded the Visotsky monastery at Serpouchoff; and another of his pupils, Sabba, laid the foundation of the convent of Svenigorod, while his nephew Theodore laid that of the Simonoff in Moscow. The Saint himself chose the site for him, on the picturesque banks of the river, within view of the capital; and gave the Great Prince his blessing to begin building at Columna the Goloutvin monastery[13], as a memorial of the victory which he had gained upon the Don. At the very moment of that decisive battle, which first shook the empire of the Mongols over Russia, the aged saint was supporting Demetrius by his prayer; his two

monks, Peresvet and Osliab[14], fought in the ranks, with the Schema under their coats of mail; and Peresvet began the engagement by a single combat with a gigantic Tartar, the champion of the Horde. He sealed with his blood the approaching deliverance of Russia, and was the precursor of those hero-monks of the Trinity Lavra, who so gloriously distinguished themselves in other days of no less danger and distress to their country. The bodies of Peresvet and Osliab were laid as the foundation of the Simonoff monastery, when it was first built, on the original site[15].

The Metropolitan Alexis himself founded many monasteries: the magnificent Choudoff[16], in the centre of the Kremlin; and, without its walls, one for nuns, by the name of his angel; another at Vladimir, the former capital, called after the Emperor Constantine; and a fourth in Nijny Novogorod, on the banks of the Volga, called the Pechersky or Cave monastery, in memory of the caves of Anthony upon the Dnieper; and he too, like others, applied to Sergius to give him one of his disciples, when he was founding the Andronieff monastery in Moscow, in fulfilment of a vow which he had made during his tempestuous voyage to Constantinople. But when the primate, being now eighty-four years of age, and full of energy to the last, perceived his end to be approaching, and wished to give Sergius his blessing and appoint him to be his successor, the humble monk, in great alarm, declared that he could not accept nor wear the costly Panagia[17], which the primate had sent him from his own person. "From my youth upwards," he answered humbly, "I have never possessed nor worn gold, and now much more in my old age I am anxious to remain in poverty." St. Alexis had good reason for wishing to lose no time in choosing himself a successor beforehand; for even during his life the same Patriarch Philotheus, who has been mentioned above, had consecrated another metropolitan named Cyprian, a Servian by birth, probably in the room of Romanus, who was deceased; but he was not acknowledged by Demetrius; so he remained in Kieff, where he resided till the death of his predecessor,

CHAP. V.

and during those disturbances of the Church which broke out after it.

Scarcely had the incorrupt remains of St. Alexis been deposited in the Choudoff monastery of his own foundation, when Mitai, archimandrite of the Simonoff and confessor to the Great Prince, who had originally belonged to the White or Secular Clergy, and had only recently received the tonsure, presuming upon his favour in high quarters, boldly took possession of the metropolitical palace[18], and began to regulate the affairs of the Church as if he were now himself the primate[19]. He demanded his own Consecration in Moscow from a synod of Russian bishops; but Dionysius of Souzdal and St. Sergius strenuously opposed this infraction of ecclesiastical order, especially as Alexis himself, before his death, notwithstanding the entreaties of Demetrius, had absolutely refused to give his benediction to Mitai as his successor.

Sergius had tried to turn the attention of the Great Prince upon Dionysius, as having been the favourite disciple of the deceased metropolitan, to whom he had in times past intrusted his Pechersky monastery; and to save him from the persecutions of the pretender Mitai, and from bonds and imprisonment, he even became himself surety for him, and took him into his own keeping. Dionysius, however, did not reverence as he ought to have done the aged saint, but made his escape and fled secretly to Constantinople. On this Mitai also, fearing lest the patriarch should invest his rival with the dignity of metropolitan, set forth and sailed with a splendid retinue for the same destination, but died at sea within view of the Grecian capital. The Archimandrite Pimen, who attended him, made his own advantage of the letters of the Great Prince to the emperor and the Patriarch Nilus, and fraudulently obtained Consecration. Demetrius, enraged at this villainous proceeding, put him into confinement at Tver; and sent the Archimandrite Theodore, the nephew of St. Sergius, to Kieff, to invite Cyprian to take possession of the metropolitical throne of all Russia.

XXVIII. CYPRIAN.

This occurred in the year of the celebrated battle with Mamai[20], which covered with eternal glory the hero of the Don. The victory of Koulikoff came after a century and a half as the avenging reverberation of the disastrous slaughter on the Kalka; but still Russia had not as yet any rest from calamity. Two years after this the destructive invasion of the Khan Toktamuish again covered her eastern provinces with desolation, and the children of the traitor Oleg, prince of Riazan, introduced the Tartars into the Kremlin of Moscow, which had been left by the Great Prince and the metropolitan. Cyprian's absenting himself from the seditious capital just before the invasion, and his residence at Tver with the Prince Michael, son of Alexander, the rival of Demetrius, excited the displeasure of the Great Prince, and obliged him to remove back again to Kieff. Pimen was taken out of confinement, and occupied his place in Moscow, though for no long period, as he was obliged to go to Constantinople, at the citation of the patriarch, to be there judged with Cyprian, who refused to yield up to him his right.

In the mean time a third metropolitan appeared; Dionysius, who had been consecrated bishop of Souzdal by St. Alexis, obtained in Constantinople the rank of archbishop, and notwithstanding that his having gone thither unsent was against him, he nevertheless, by his pastoral virtues and by his eloquence, obtained the respect both of the Great Prince and of the people, and they devoutly received at his hands the holy Icons and relics which he had brought from the East. He quieted the discontent of the clergy and laity of Novogorod, where they murmured at the great sums which were demanded of them at Ordinations, and procured certain definite fees to be fixed by a patriarchal rescript, which he brought to Alexis the Lord of Novogorod. The same disturbance had already once before manifested itself, on occasion of the heresy of the Strigolniks[21], who rejected the

CHAP. V.

Ordination of Priests as practised by the Church. Dionysius visited Constantinople a second time, in company with Theodore, the confessor of the Great Prince, and, probably with his consent, sought and obtained for himself the rank
1384. of metropolitan, for Demetrius never liked Pimen; but as he was on his return home, Vladimir, son of Olgerd and prince of Kieff, who took part with Cyprian, arrested and detained Dionysius as uncanonically appointed during the lifetime of another metropolitan; and he died in Kieff, and was buried there in the catacombs of the Lavra.

At length Pimen, who had been once more cited to Constantinople to appear in the court of the Patriarch Anthony, died at Chalcedon, and his rival was left alone the undisputed
1390. metropolitan of all Russia. Basil, the son of Demetrius of the Don, his father being now dead, received the primate with great honour in Moscow, where he arrived, accompanied by two Greek metropolitans and seven Russian bishops. Three of them, Theodore, Euphrosynus, and Isakius, had been severally raised in Constantinople to the rank of archbishops, of Rostoff, Souzdal, and Chernigoff, and so for that time the division which had taken place in the unity of the Church was at an end.

Cyprian recalled to mind by his character the great Cyrill, who had done so much for the improvement and consolidation of Russia. With equal abilities for the administration of ecclesiastical and of civil affairs, he was, during his episcopate of eighteen years, in the full sense of the word metropolitan of all Russia, notwithstanding the cruel separation between Lithuania and Moscow. His former residence of fifteen years in Kieff, had gained him the affection of all the bishops beyond the Dnieper, and the respect of Olgerd himself, who had been converted to Christianity by his consort Mary, born a princess of Tver. That residence indeed, and his influence afterwards, were the main causes of the preservation of orthodoxy throughout the whole of the southern districts; for Pope Gregory XI., at the request of Louis, king of Poland, had already erected four Latin dioceses in Peremu-

ishla, Kholma, Vladimir, and Lvoff. We may well suppose that the true cause of the appointments of Romanus and Cyprian as metropolitans for the South of Russia during the life of Alexis, was the anxiety of the patriarchs lest the preservation of the purity of the faith should be endangered in those parts.

Although the governors of Lithuania in Kieff still continued to profess the orthodox Faith, the Great Prince himself, Yagello the son of Olgerd, having been elected king of Poland, was baptized together with all his people by Roman priests; and his successor in Lithuania, the powerful Vitoft, also embracing the Latin confession, exceedingly promoted its dissemination in Wilna and Volhynia; and in Kieff itself there was founded a monastery of Dominicans. Nevertheless, both Yagello and Vitoft respected the dignity and character of the Metropolitan Cyprian, who on his part prudently did all that was in his power to conciliate them; they made no attempt to withdraw their subjects from his spiritual authority, nor did he, after his removal to Moscow, ever discontinue his visits to Kieff and Lithuania. The bond of a family connection between the Great Princes promoted their accord in respect of the affairs of the Church. Sophia the daughter of Vitoft, had been given in marriage to Basil; and Cyprian being charged on one occasion to conduct the Great Princess to Wilna to visit her father, took the opportunity while there of ordaining bishops and regulating the affairs of the Church, and forewarned his sovereign of the designs of the Lithuanians, on the occasion of his having for the second time an interview with Vitoft and Yagello.

Not less prudent was his administration of affairs within the dominions of Moscow. Feeling deeply the immense importance of unity to the Church, he strove with all his might to re-establish in Novogorod the rights of the hierarchy, which had been violated and set aside during the feeble administration of Pimen by the self-willed independency of the Assembly. For they had refused to be subject to the superior court of the metropolitans, that they might escape paying to

CHAP. V.

it the customary dues, and were for giving the final decision in all spiritual matters to their own Lord. But the first attempt of Cyprian was unsuccessful, and he left without his benediction the rebellious citizens, who shewed no respect even to the rescript of the patriarch. The Great Prince himself engaged in this affair, which partly affected his own government, as the subordination of Novogorod to the spiritual authority of the primate made it more dependent on Moscow than it would else have been in civil affairs. The Assembly was brought to reason, though only for a short time; new disturbances on their part caused a war, and the good archbishop, John, suffered imprisonment in the Choudoff monastery for the disobedience of his flock: Tver and Riazan were in harmony with Moscow, while Souzdal, ever since the times of Demetrius of the Don, had been reckoned as part of its province. Cyprian, on the petition of Michael prince of Tver, who was his friend, consecrated in the room of Euphemius bishop of that city, who had been deprived, St. Arsenius, a man distinguished for his piety, who founded near Tver the Jeltikoff monastery, where his uncorrupted body still lies. Oleg, the prince of Riazan, had been at length reconciled to the Great Prince after the invasion of Toktamuish by the entreaties of St. Sergius, who softened completely and for ever the enmity of his heart. Both the illustrious rivals
1392. of Demetrius, Michael and Oleg, ended their days about the same time, as monks, and in alliance with his son; and with them the glory of their principalities was extinguished.

In the reign of Basil, died also at an extremely advanced age that great defender of his country, Sergius, amidst the blessings of his contemporaries, which were soon changed into prayers for his intercession, when his uncorrupted relics were found. His disciple, the holy Hegumen Nikon, discovered them as he was building the stone church of the Holy Trinity after the destructive invasion of Edigee, and deposited them in it as a support and strength to his Lavra, which from that time forth was never touched by so much as one of those calamities which fell upon the neighbouring

city of Moscow [22]. Another great pledge of the safety of the capital was brought into it, to the cathedral of the Assumption, from the former residence of the Great Prince, Vladimir, at a time when another dreadful invasion was threatening. The conqueror of the East, Tamerlane, suddenly fell upon the Horde, and having broken the power of Toktamuish [23], advanced rapidly into the interior of our country, giving up every thing to fire and sword. The Great Prince with his army awaited him on the banks of the Oka; the metropolitan with the citizens went out in procession to meet the ancient Icon of the Mother of God, and to receive it into Moscow; and on that same day Tamerlane turned back, and drew off his army [24]. The Sretensky monastery, that is, The Monastery of the Meeting, was built in Moscow in commemoration of the deliverance of Russia, which has ever since kept the 26th of August as a festival. 1395.

Many religious houses began to appear in the North from the time of St. Alexis, and during all the long primacy of Cyprian. In Souzdal, a disciple of the Archbishop Dionysius, St. Euphemius, founded his celebrated monastery of the Saviour; and in Moscow, Eudocia, the pious widow of the hero of the Don, received the tonsure by the name of Eupraxia in the convent of The Ascension [25], which she had founded in the Kremlin. There she was buried, and the same church from that time forth became the burying-place of the illustrious house of Moscow for all the Grand Princesses and their daughters, whose tombs are ranged side by side, beginning with hers. But that which became more celebrated than all the rest was the convent of Bielo-ozero [26], founded by St. Cyrill, a disciple and companion of St. Sergius, and monk of the Simonoff monastery. Thirsting after a retreat of absolute quiet, he secluded himself on the silent shores of the White lake; but such a light as his could not remain hid under the bushel; his monastery grew and flourished, even like that of St. Sergius, and became an object of the deepest reverence to our Tsars, especially to John the Terrible. In its turn it became the seed-bed of other houses, which sprang

CHAP. V.

up around it, both near and afar off. From the white waters of its lake, St. Sabbatius carried the germ of monasticism to the grey waves of the Northern ocean; there, in the uninhabited islands of the White sea, his fellow-labourer Germanus, and his successor St. Zosimus laid the foundations of the Solovetskay[27] Lavra, which has stood as a glorious boundary of our country to the North, and illumined all the coasts of the sea with the light of Christianity.

Other monasteries, though less celebrated than these two, which are of the highest rank, produced, no less than these, the same beneficial effects on their wild neighbourhoods. Not far from Bielo-ozero, one of the princes of that place discovered a whole community of monks on a desolate and rocky island of the Koubensky lake, who occupied themselves solely with preaching the word of God to the savage tribes of the Choudes[28]. Their pious zeal extended even still further to the North. The Monk Lazarus founded his monastery of the Assumption on the shores of the Onega lake, for the conversion of the Lopars[29]; and at the same time the monks of Balaam, on the Ladoga, enlightened by holy Baptism the neighbouring Carelians. Not only the spiritual instruction, but even the occupation itself and colonization of the northern and eastern districts of Russia were effected by the multiplication of religious houses, which were scattered in all parts, and around which inhabitants immediately began to plant themselves, attracted by the advantage of those exemptions which were granted to the Church, with its property and retainers, by the Letters of the khans, and by that freedom from civil jurisdiction which had been all along conceded to the clergy by their native princes. Thus every monastery which extended our boundary became the nucleus of a new pale of settlements, and even a stronghold of defence in case of any attack from barbarous tribes. Great Perm, whither the hunters of Novogorod before went for their furs, was acquired to Russia by a single monk, through the preaching of the Name of Christ. St. Stephen, penetrated with an apostolic zeal, felt his heart

pained at the gross heathenism of the inhabitants of Perm; and having thoroughly known their tongue from a child, he invented letters for it. He went alone to preach Christ in the deep and silent woods of Perm, and by faith overcame all the opposition of the heathen priests, who were his enemies. He founded for them their first church, a poor and simple structure, on the river Viuma, and from thence, by little and little, the doctrine of salvation was spread abroad. He himself was consecrated to be bishop of Perm by the hands of the Metropolitan Pimen, and after many years of labour, departed this life in Moscow, where his holy relics are still preserved in the cathedral of the Saviour.

The Metropolitan Cyprian, the great contemporary of so many holy athletes, departed this life, to the deep regret of the Great Prince and of all his widely-extended flock, in his favourite village of Golenischeff, near Moscow, where in mature old age he sought repose from the troubles of life. There he consecrated his hours of solitude to the task of writing an account of the holy lives of his two predecessors, Peter and Alexis, and to the making of a collection of the chronicles of his adopted country, which have been preserved to us under the title of the Books of the Genealogies; for this great churchman was at the same time wisely zealous for the promotion of learning and enlightenment. Before his easy and tranquil departure, he composed a touching testamentary exhortation to his flock, in which forgiving all who might have offended him, he himself humbly in turn asked forgiveness of all, and ordered that it should be read over his grave. After his example all the subsequent metropolitans of Moscow have been used to leave behind them similar testamentary exhortations. 1407.

XXIX. PHOTIUS.

For three years after the death of Cyprian there was no metropolitan in Russia, till the Patriarch Matthew sent Photius, who had been consecrated from the strict monks of the country of Amorrhæa. His arrival, first at Kieff, and after- 1410.

CHAP. V.

wards at Moscow, took place just at the afflictive period of the Tartar ravages, to which our country was again subjected. The Horde, which had been divided by the quarrels between the families of Timur and Toktamuish, was still powerful under the rule of Edigée, who, like Mamai[30], disposed of the destiny of the khans. He wished to humble the Great Prince; for the prudent Basil, taking advantage of the wars of the Horde with Lithuania, had redeemed himself from under their yoke for the consideration of a small annual tribute. The invasion of Edigée was very destructive; all the eastern districts were reduced to ashes; Vladimir, son of Andrew, the uncle of the Great Prince, and the illustrious companion-in-arms of Demetrius Donskoy, with difficulty held out in the Kremlin of Moscow. A few years later, the ancient city of Kieff and all the southern frontiers were exposed to the sword of the Tartars, and from those times declined still more in importance.

Photius found the patrimony of the metropolitical see partly spoiled by the enemy, and partly wasted by embezzlements of the boyars themselves during the vacancy, when there was no primate; and as he stood up warmly in defence of the property of the Church, he drew upon himself their enmity, in which the Great Prince himself joined. Photius, who had been used as a monk to the solitude of his cell, could ill bear the turmoils of public life in a strange country; he sought in vain for quiet in the favourite retreat of Cyprian, where like him he gave himself up to learning, and for a time retired into the forests in the district of Vladimir; but he was driven from thence also by a new invasion from the Horde, under the khan's son, who laid waste the elder capital, Vladimir.

In the mean time another calamity, which had been long foreseen, assailed the Church of Russia from the West. Vitoft, though a zealot of Rome, yet, from his respect for Cyprian, had not attempted to break the unity of the metropolitical power; but Photius' want of tact and experience in matters of state business, and the strictness with which he collected the revenues of the Church in the Lithuanian provinces, set the

prince upon effecting a separation, which seemed convenient for his interests in a political point of view. He called together in Novogorod of Lithuania all his bishops; Theodosius of Polotsk, Isaak of Chernigoff, Dionysius of Loutsk, Gerasimus of Volhynia, John of Galich, Sebastian of Smolensk, Charito of Kholma, Paul of Cherven, Euphemius of Touroff; he represented to them the difficulties which must stand in the way of the Church being well governed, so long as it was dependant upon a foreign primate, and required that there should be a separate metropolitan for Kieff. The orthodox bishops hesitated for a long time to fulfil the wishes of a sovereign who professed another faith; but threats and other vexations at length wearied them out, and compelled them to proceed to an election. Gregory Simblak, a learned man of Bulgarian extraction, was sent by the synod to Constantinople for Consecration, with a complaint against the Metropolitan Photius, as if to turn off from the electors upon him the responsibility of violating the unity of the Church. But the Emperor Manuel and the Patriarch Callistus rejected the petition of the synod. The Metropolitan Photius himself, when he heard of the designs of the Lithuanians, resolved to go to Vitoft to prevent them, and even on from him to Constantinople, but he was robbed on the frontier-territory of Moscow, and compelled to return; while Vitoft drove his vicar out of Kieff, and made himself master of all that belonged to the metropolitan within the pale of his dominions.

The refusal of the patriarch of Constantinople to consecrate Simblak was no bar to the proud Lithuanian. He again convoked the bishops to Novogrodok, and compelled them to 1416.
ordain Gregory as metropolitan of Kieff and all Russia. Being sensible, however, of the irregularity of their proceedings, the members of the synod sought to justify themselves by a circular letter, in which they accused of avarice not Photius only, but even the Greek emperors themselves, intimating that they made their own private advantage of sending metropolitans to Russia; at the same time they expressed their high respect

CHAP. V.

for the œcumenical patriarchs, and their devotion to the doctrines of orthodoxy. On the other side, Photius called together the bishops of the Muscovite dominions, anathematized the acts of the synod of Novogrodok, and Simblak himself, and strove, with all his might, to re-establish the unity of the Church; but this he was never able to effect during the life of his rival, who had established his chair at Wilna.

Gregory, who was zealously attached to the doctrines of the Eastern Church, could not bear to see his sovereign professing another creed, and exhorted him to turn to orthodoxy. But Vitoft, while he declined entering himself into the controversy, made Gregory go to the West, where the synod of Constance was still sitting. Simblak remained unshaken in the traditions of his fathers, and soon after died at Wilna.

1420. On this the Metropolitan Photius, now become more experienced from his long residence in Russia, took advantage of the favourable conjuncture, and having undertaken the charge of conducting the Great Princess Sophia, on a visit to her father, succeeded in re-establishing a good understanding, which was no more interrupted till after both their deaths; for during the last days of Vitoft's life, the metropolitan had yet once again after this, at Troki, a friendly interview with him, and with Yagello, king of Poland.

The death of Photius was very sensibly felt by the principality of Moscow, which was torn to pieces by the family feuds of its princes, after the prudent reign of Basil[31], the son of Demetrius. His brother Yury rose up against his youthful son Basil, the legitimate Great Prince, whom the metropolitan, on the other hand, supported by his spiritual authority, and kept down the malcontents by the fear of excommunication. But when there was no longer any ecclesiastical head in Moscow, these dissensions broke out afresh, and were the very bitterest and fiercest of all that occur in our history. It seemed as if it had been decreed, that before Russia should begin to breathe again, after her two hundred years subjection to the Tartar yoke and her own civil dissensions, and rise to greatness in the person of John III., all those long-

continued miseries should once more be accumulated together, and burst, for the last time, on the head of his father Basil. For what calamity is there which he did not experience during the six-and-thirty years of his reign? He was obliged to go to the Horde, and stand before Mahomet Khan to be judged with his ambitious uncle; he was taken prisoner by the same khan, after an engagement in which he was worsted, and was kept for some time in captivity; he was twice expelled from the throne of Great Prince by his own relations, was imprisoned by them, and at last had his eyes put out. But his country is indebted to this royal sufferer for his firmness in maintaining the orthodox Faith, for never at any other time was the Church of Russia exposed to so great a danger.

The successor of Vitoft, Svidrigailo, seeing that the primacy was vacant, despatched his favourite, Gerasimus, bishop of Smolensk, to Constantinople, where he was appointed metropolitan by the Patriarch Joseph. He did not succeed, however, in penetrating further than Smolensk; and was obliged to content himself with a residence there, which he preferred, in order that he might be nearer at hand to make his attempts upon Moscow, though neither that nor any other Russian diocese ever for a moment consented to acknowledge him; Novogorod alone unwillingly applied to him, after the death of their Archbishop Simeon, to consecrate to the chair of St. Sophia the holy Ephraim, one of the most virtuous of all the pastors of that city. After two years had elapsed, Gerasimus himself suffered death at the hand of his former benefactor. The ferocious Svidrigailo, having learned that he carried on a secret correspondence with Sigismund, his rival in the principality of Lithuania, to the horror of all the orthodox, burned the metropolitan alive at Vitebsk. 1432.

XXX. ISIDORE.

In the mean time, the Great Prince Basil, taking it to heart that the Church should remain so long without a

CHAP. V.

pastor, caused a synod to assemble, which, at his instigation, elected Jonah bishop of Riazan, a man who by his virtues shed a light on those stormy times of our country. He was sent for institution to the Patriarch Joseph; but Jonah found at Constantinople that another person had already been appointed metropolitan of all Russia, Isidore, a bishop of Illyria. This was at the very moment of the greatest distress of the Greek empire, which was now almost all shut up within the walls of the capital, and in daily horror of the gathering storm of the Ottomans. The Emperor John, seeing no means of deliverance within his empire, sought for aid from the Western Powers.

Eugenius IV., an experienced and politic old man, then occupied the papal throne; and although he himself was engaged in a contest with the synods of Constance and Basle, respecting the papal authority, he nevertheless proposed to the emperor to call a council in Italy for the reunion of the Churches, promising, if it were agreed to, to save Constantinople from the Turks. John, together with the Patriarch Joseph, and a venerable body of clergy, sailed for Venice; but as Russia already composed the larger half of the Eastern Church, Isidore, a friend of the pope, and a man of distinguished talents and eloquence, was chosen and sent to her as metropolitan. Kieff and Moscow gave him a public reception, and all Russia acknowledged him; but no more than four months had elapsed when he began to seek permission of the Great Prince to go to the council, representing to him that all the sovereigns and primates of both East and West were assembled to confer about the Faith, and that it was not meet that Russia alone should have no representative there. Basil gave a reluctant consent to the departure of the metropolitan, beseeching him to stand firm in defence of the doctrines of orthodoxy, and gave him Abram, bishop of Souzdal, to accompany him, together with a numerous suite. St. Euphemius, of Novogorod, conducted the primate to the frontiers of his diocese. The Grand Master[32] of Livonia paid him the compliment of going out to meet him

and giving him a public reception at Riga; from thence he sailed by sea to Lubeck, and proceeded to Ferrara, where the emperor and the pope were waiting only for his arrival in order to open the council.

Long controversies were begun respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit, purgatory, and unleavened bread, and above all respecting the power of the pope. The emperor and the patriarch, overwhelmed by the misfortunes of their country and by poverty, nevertheless stood out for a long time. The eloquent Mark, metropolitan of Ephesus, thundered against the new doctrines, and against the ambition of Rome; but Bessarion, metropolitan of Nice, and Isidore of Russia, inclined strongly to the interests of the pope. They transferred the council to Florence, where the Patriarch Joseph died. At length Eugenius obtained the upper hand, and declared beforehand the union of the Churches on conditions favourable to Rome. Mark of Ephesus was the only one who did not subscribe the acts of the council; he concealed himself, to become afterwards in the East the champion of orthodoxy; for the other œcumenical patriarchs rejected the union of Florence, and assembled together in Constantinople, and condemned all its conventions and acts[33]. The emperor returned without obtaining any support for his falling empire; none of the western sovereigns gave him any assistance, or were even present at Florence; for they favoured rather the opinions of the council of Basle. Bessarion and Isidore were decorated with the Roman purple, while the last had the title given him of Cardinal Legate of the Apostolic See in Russia. He 1440.
returned in triumph through Kieff to Moscow, bearing friendly letters from Pope Eugenius to the Great Prince; but the first time that he performed Divine service, when, in the cathedral of the Assumption, he was in the act of naming the Roman pontiff, together with the œcumenical patriarchs, and the archdeacon[34] had proclaimed from beside the chair of the primate the acts of the council of Florence, Basil indignantly rebuked Isidore, calling him a traitor to the cause of orthodoxy, and a false pastor. He summoned the bishops

CHAP. V.

and the boyars to meet and pass their judgment on the new doctrine. Not one of them would consent to acknowledge the pope as the Vicar of Christ; and all of them, with one accord, rejected the western doctrine respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit that it is not only from the Father, but also from the Son, in contradiction to the ancient Creed[35], in spite of the subtle arguments of Isidore, whom they confined in the Choudoff monastery. He escaped, however, from his guards, and fled, and Basil prudently gave orders that he should not be pursued. Isidore was honourably received at Rome, and was sent to Constantinople, where great disturbances were excited among the people by the attempt to carry into effect the union of the Churches, even when the capital was on the very point of falling; for two patriarchs, Metrophanes and Gregory, one after the other adhered to the council of Florence. But when the last Constantine fell upon the ruins of his empire, on which the conqueror Mahomet established a new dynasty, Isidore again fled, and sought his safety at Rome, and was there honoured with the title of Patriarch of Constantinople. A disciple of his, Gregory, was consecrated metropolitan of Kieff, where about this time there commenced a succession of Latin bishops; but Gregory was not acknowledged in Russia, nor even in Lithuania, notwithstanding the protection of Casimir, sovereign of the latter country and of Poland. Thus terminated this attempt to subject Russia to the Roman see. A century and a half later its effects were felt in the grievous calamities inflicted on our country by the Pretenders, and the Unia.

XXXI. SAINT JONAH.

After the expulsion of Isidore, the Church of Russia was again for eight years in widowhood. During this period the Prince Demetrius Shemiaka, who, after having put out the eyes of Basil and cast him into prison, had taken possession of the throne, sent for Jonah, the bishop of Riazan, and of-

fered him the dignity of metropolitan, if he would only reconcile him with the Great Prince. He cunningly persuaded the old man to bring to him to be educated the two children of the blind prince, whom the faithful boyars had concealed in Mourom, in his diocese, promising to pacify their unfortunate father by the gift of a rich patrimony, and threatening, on the other hand, to sack the town in case of a refusal. The hope of obtaining the dignity of primate could not influence Jonah, who was already regarded as the lawful successor to the metropolitical throne; but he hoped to alleviate the lot of Basil, for he did not anticipate the possibility of his reigning, and so he complied with the wishes of Shemiaka. He received on his omophorium[36], or pall, the young sons of the blinded prince in the cathedral at Mourom; but when Shemiaka, violating the oath which he had pledged, sent them to Ouglich to share their father's confinement, the vehement remonstrances of the holy man wrought upon him to redeem his broken faith. "Thou hast disgraced my old "age," he said, "and now I am steeped in perjury: remove "this sin from my soul and thine own: what dost thou fear "from a blind prince and two little children?" This he urged without ceasing upon Shemiaka, until he touched his heart; and so he let Basil go free with his children to Vologda, having first taken the precaution to bind him with an oath taken upon the cross, and before a synod of bishops, instead of fetters. But the blind prince, who had been treacherously seized by his enemy within the walls of the Trinity Lavra, at the tomb of the wonder-worker Sergius, within the walls of another monastery received absolution from his compulsory oath. Tryphon, hegumen of the monastery of Bielo-ozero, took the oath upon himself and his fraternity, and urged the prince, for the good of his country, to reclaim for himself and his children their lawful inheritance. Moscow went forth with joy to meet her true sovereign, and his first act was to send the Bishop Jonah to Constantinople for institution.

Basil, in his letter to the emperor and patriarch, described

CHAP. V.

the particulars of the confusion which had been introduced by the defection of the Metropolitan Isidore, and declared his own devotion to the ancient and orthodox doctrine. But reports concerning the relations which Constantinople then had with Rome, caused the Great Prince to delay his embassy. Waiting more favourable circumstances, St. Jonah governed the Church for five years without being synodically appointed. But at length, seeing that the disorders in the East still continued, Basil convoked the Russian bishops, Ephraim of Rostoff, Abram of Souzdal, who had fled from the council of Florence, Barlaam of Columna, and Pitirim of Perm, who was afterwards martyred by the savage inhabitants of his diocese for the Name of Christ; these instituted Jonah as metropolitan of all Russia, while St. Euphemius of Novogorod and the bishop of Tver sent him the letters of confirmation[37].

1453. From this time, on account of the fall of the Greek empire, all our metropolitans were appointed by a council of their own bishops; for they had no means of passing through Lithuania to Constantinople, which was then oppressed by the Ottoman yoke. But the spiritual bond of union with the Eastern Church, and even the subordination of the Russian primate to the throne of Constantinople, were preserved inviolate; on all possible opportunities the patriarchs communicated with the metropolitans of Russia either by letters or by bishops going in person from one to the other: and the other œcumenical patriarchs, yielding to the pressure of the circumstances of those times, recognised this mode of consecration, and did not break off unity with us on this account, as appears from the Book of the Kormchay[38] or Nomocanon. St. Jonah however was the last who bore the title of Metropolitan of Kieff: his successors took that of Metropolitan of Moscow and of all Russia: for Kieff from this time began to have a regular succession of metropolitans of its own, subject to Lithuania. He continued for seven years to shew forth an example of all the virtues of a good pastor, on the episcopal throne; he consoled the capital under its

suffering from conflagrations and from a dreadful invasion of the Tartars, who all but got possession of the Kremlin; and even during his life he was glorified from above by the gifts of prophecy and healing; having, like St. Peter, foretold the deliverance of Russia from the yoke of the infidels, and its future glory.

The episcopate of the Metropolitan Jonah terminated nearly at the same time with the reign of Basil[39]. A good Providence prolonged the holy life of that great Churchman to the glorious times of John III., who shed new splendour upon Russia. And here we may well fix our eyes with astonishment on those ages of slavery which have gone by, and offer a heartfelt thanksgiving to the Lord, who under the shadow of his Church preserved the rising empire during its youth, entrusting its helm, amid civil wars and barbarous captivity, during the course of two hundred years, to a glorious succession of great prelates. Scarcely had the Tartars appeared and laid waste our country, when one after another there rose up, sometimes from her own bosom, at others from Greece, Cyrill, and Maximus, the Saints Peter and Theognostes, Alexis, Cyprian, Photius, and lastly Jonah, all of whom the Church reckons in the company of her guardians and intercessors; having learned to trust by experience, even during their lives, in that heavenly aid which they afforded her after their blessed deaths. The period of the rule of each of these was so prolonged, their force of character, their devotion to the Church, so unshaken, and so touching was the sanctity of their lives, that internal storms by little and little subsided into calm at the word of the prelates, and, as in some sheltered haven, the feuds of the princes were quieted around them, while the waves without were often broken against the solid opposition of the hierarchical order. Certainly Russia is bound to remember with devout gratitude all these her holy defenders during the stormy days of her youth; especially, and above all, Cyrill, Peter, Alexis, Cyprian, and Jonah.

1461.

From the accession of John III., there was a great change

1462.

CHAP. V.

both in the external and internal circumstances of Russia which in the course of his long and prudent reign ripened into a powerful empire. The Golden Horde, which had once been so formidable, had now fallen into pieces of itself; its last khan, Achmet, with difficulty exacted a nominal tribute from the Great Prince. Three separate kingdoms were formed from its ruins; that of Kazan, which was more hostile than the others to Moscow, although its kings[40] were often appointed by our sovereigns, as ours had once been by the khans; that of Astrachan, in the distant South, composed of many wandering hordes; and lastly, that of the Crimæa, the founder of which, Mengly Hirey, was during his whole life the firm ally of John. He crushed the tribe of Achmet, and harassed Lithuania with his incursions. On the other hand, the great Lithuanian principality, which already embraced all the south and west districts of Russia, became still more powerful when its sovereigns of the race of Hedimine ascended the throne of Poland. It shut out the West from us, although the embassies of John visited the courts of all the sovereigns of Europe, from the pope and the Roman emperor even down to the sultan. The warlike order of the knights of Livonia, acting in concert with Lithuania, threatened the frontiers of Novogorod and Pskoff, which John, to the extreme displeasure of the popular assembly, had begun to call his patrimony. The civil feuds which had distracted the empire within itself, were now extinguished; Riazan alone claimed the rights of a separate but inoffensive principality, under the influence of that of Moscow; Tver had already come as it were into the family of Moscow by the matrimonial alliance which John contracted with the daughter of its prince, and he took it into his own hands altogether upon the flight of the last reigning prince, who had been discovered to entertain secret relations with Lithuania. The concentration of the empire under one head was the object which John steadily pursued throughout his whole life.

His influence was great also in Church affairs; for the

Russian Church, properly so called, was now all comprised within the limits of his empire, in consequence of the separation of the southern dioceses from the jurisdiction of the metropolitans of Moscow. With St. Jonah terminated the line of those great prelates who had extended their beneficent influence over the ancient patrimony of our Church, and had joined all together in one by their frequent journeys in different directions throughout Russia, and to Constantinople, from whence they brought the most enlightened principles and models of ecclesiastical administration. Our involuntary separation from Constantinople, after its fall, was sensibly felt in its consequences, when men of exalted acquirements, such as Cyprian and Photius, no longer came to us to fill the throne of Moscow. Inaccuracies crept by little and little into our Slavonic books of Divine service, and into some of the ceremonies, from their no longer being compared with the Greek, which, though inconsiderable in themselves, nevertheless took deep root, and served eventually for the occasion of lamentable divisions.

XXXII. THEODOSIUS.

Theodosius, the successor of St. Jonah, was appointed by a Russian synod in the last year of Basil the Blind, from having been archbishop of Rostoff, in consequence of the seniority of his see[41]; but he did not sit as metropolitan of Moscow more than five years. The opinion then greatly prevalent of the end of the world being at hand, at the expiration of the seven thousandth year from the creation, moved the zeal of the boyars to erect numbers of private churches; while the multiplication of priests, who had no parochial cure, and the demand for whom made it difficult to observe proper strictness in their selection, produced a relaxation in the morals of the clergy. Theodosius, who was a strict disciplinarian, excited great dissatisfaction against himself by his corrective measures, and only avoided a public disturbance by voluntarily retiring into the Choudoff monastery. There he took to himself into 1462.

CHAP. V.

his cell, a poor and feeble old man, and tended him as a servant till his death, washing his sores, as a pattern of Christian humility. A year before his retirement it was his fortune to take part in the affairs of the Church of Palestine. Joseph, patriarch of Jerusalem, flying from the persecutions of the sultan of Egypt, resolved to seek refuge in Russia, but died on his road, at Kaffa[42]. His brother arrived at Moscow, with letters commendatory, and was ordained by a synod of Russian bishops to be metropolitan of Cæsarea. This was the first appeal of the Eastern Church in her affliction, after the taking of Constantinople, to the charity and affection of the Russians, her brethren by unity of faith.

XXXIII. PHILIP I.

1467. PHILIP, bishop of Souzdal, was appointed metropolitan, and inherited the virtues as well as the dignity of Theodosius; during the seven years that he governed the Church, he shewed a remarkable firmness of character. The name of John, which was already known in Europe, attracted the attention of the Roman pontiff, Paul, at whose court the family of Thomas, lord of the Morea, and brother of the last Constantine, had found an asylum. Just before the fall of Constantinople, there had been a renewal of the connection which had previously existed between the family of the Great Prince and that of the emperors, when Anna, sister to Basil the Blind, was given in marriage to John Paleologus; and after its fall, the pope could not find any more suitable match for Sophia, the heiress of the Greek emperors, than the powerful sovereign of Russia. The idea of a general crusade against the Turks, together with the hope of uniting our country with Rome through the instrumentality of Sophia, who had been bred up in the doctrines of the Council of Florence, induced Paul to deliver over to Russia this last relic of the ancient glories of Byzantium; and John gladly received this her last pledge in the person of Sophia[43]. But the hopes of Rome were dis-

appointed; the princess had no sooner crossed the frontier, and come within our territory, than she shewed herself a zealous follower of the Orthodox Confession; and when Anthony, the papal legate, who accompanied her, wished to make his public entry into Moscow with the cross borne before him after the Latin fashion, and John hesitated from respect to his quality of ambassador, the Metropolitan Philip stood up in defence of the supremacy of the Church of his country. "Whoever" said he to John, "praises and honours a foreign faith, that man degrades his own. If the legate enters with his cross at one gate of the city, I shall go out of it by the other." After the celebration of the marriage the metropolitan had some discussions with the legate about the Faith, but the cautious envoy of Rome avoided entering into any decisive controversy, and excused himself on the ground of not having his books with him.

Philip, zealous for the honour of the cathedral of the Assumption, where his blessed predecessors reposed, and assisted by the contributions of the boyars and the clergy, began to erect a new church on the site of the old building of Kalita; but from the unskilfulness of the builders the arches soon fell in, and this caused the Great Prince to send for Aristotle[44], a celebrated architect, from Italy. He erected the cathedral of the Assumption in that magnificent Byzantine style, for which it is still admired, as the brightest jewel of the ancient Kremlin; and two other magnificent cathedrals, those of the Annunciation and of the Archangel, were rebuilt under his superintendence upon their former sites. In the inside of the temple of the Assumption, there were laid as foundation-stones at the four corners the bodies of those great prelates, who had reposed in the former sanctuary; Peter and Theognostes within the side-altar[45], Cyprian and Photius in the south-western corner of the church; and in the opposite corner, over against them, Jonah, whose body was found uncorrupted while the building was in progress. But the Primate Philip saw neither the fall of the church which he had commenced, nor the erection of the new one; he was

CHAP. V.

seized with a sudden fright on occasion of a dreadful conflagration in the Kremlin, and fell sick soon after, and died; he had much emaciated his body with fasting, and there were found upon it after death heavy irons, which were hung up over his tomb.

XXXIV. GERONTIUS.

1472. Gerontius, bishop of Columna, having been elected to succeed him as metropolitan, completed and consecrated the cathedral of the Assumption which Philip had begun. For more than twenty years he fed the Church of Christ, during the most glorious period of the reign of John; for he witnessed the reduction of the independency of Novogorod, and the throwing off the Tartar yoke; and on both these important occasions our attention is drawn to distinguished members of the clergy. On the first of them to Theophilus, who was the last bishop elected by the people to the throne of St. Sophia after the blessed decease of St. Jonah, a man memorable for the virtues which adorned his long episcopate. The Assembly would not allow their new pastor to go to Moscow for Institution, because John in his letter, which invited him thither, had called Novogorod his patrimony, but wished to send him for Consecration into Lithuania, which was in their alliance, to the metropolitan of Kieff. But Theophilus, who was a zealous observer of the traditions of his fathers, refused to violate the ancient order of the hierarchy. During John's first expedition against them, he reconciled his flock to him, and received canonical Consecration in Moscow; and when for the second time the independent spirit of this trading republic, excited by Martha their mayoress, rose in contention against the authority of the powerful John, and his army had routed the bands of Novogorod, Theophilus, under the very walls of the city, obtained by his prayers the mercy of the conqueror for the inhabitants, although with the loss of all their popular privileges, and of his own riches, which were taken away by the

Great Prince. The Lord himself shortly after suffered for the last outbreak of the democratic spirit of his fellow-citizens, who wished to give themselves up to Lithuania, and terminated a life of trouble in confinement in the Choudoff monastery, having been throughout the victim of popular commotions.

The fall of Novogorod had been long before foretold by the Archbishop St. Euphemius, at the very time of the birth of its terrible conqueror; and this prophecy had been repeated to the ambitious Martha by the lips of Zosimus, the holy hegumen of the Solovetsky monastery, who was haughtily received in her palace, when he had come during the days of the glory of Novogorod, to solicit alms for his poor monastery on the ocean. Though John had confined Theophilus, he still did not think of appointing a new Lord without a synodical election. Agreeably with what had been the custom at Novogorod, three names were placed on the altar[46] of the cathedral of the Assumption, and the lot fell on Sergius, a humble monk of the Trinity Lavra, who was consecrated by a synod of bishops. Sergius, however, before long retired in consequence of the dislike which the people manifested against having a stranger for their Lord, and their opposition to his new regulations of Church discipline. He ceded his place to the more experienced and enlightened Gennadius, archimandrite of the Choudoff monastery, who afterwards rendered signal services to the Church by his refutations of heresy.

The long wished-for time had at length arrived for the deliverance of our country from the ignominious yoke which had so heavily oppressed her for two centuries and a half. Already had Sophia, the prudent consort of the Great Prince, who from having been educated amid the greatness of royalty wished to surround the court of John with the same, obtained the removal of the representatives of the Horde from the interior of the Kremlin, where on the site of their residence she built a church by the name of St. Nicolas of Hostoun[47]; already the envoys of the khan had ceased to be received with

CHAP. V.

honour; the tribute itself was withheld, although the alliance of Lithuania with the Horde might have inspired John with fear. At length Achmet put himself in motion; for the last time the Golden Horde armed itself against Russia, and brought to mind the hosts of Mamai. The Great Prince marched out with his army to the banks of the Oka, which is called among the common people The Girdle of the Mother of God, from the fact of Russia having more than once been saved on its banks. There his resolution faltered. His cautious policy dreaded to trust the future destinies of the whole empire to the fortune of a single battle, as the bold hero of the Don had done; and having left his son with the army, he himself retired to his capital, to the general dissatisfaction of the people. The idea that the Tartars were invincible had long since died away; Kasan, a large fragment of the kingdom of Kaptchak, had taught us the way to victory over the infidels. The murmurs of the people against John increased more and more: at this juncture the eloquent and aged Bassian, archbishop of Rostoff, who had imbibed at the tomb of the venerable Sergius, when hegumen of his monastery, the inheritance of his patriotism, by his bold speech and letter of exhortation aroused the spirit of John:—"Dost thou dread death?" he wrote; "Thou too must die as well as others: death is the lot of all, man, beast, and bird alike: none can avoid it. Give these warriors into my hand, and old as I am, I will not spare myself, nor will ever turn my back to the Tartars." The Metropolitan Gerontius added his exhortations to the words of Bassian, and the Great Prince returned to the camp. Achmet fled without fighting, and Russia was set free for ever.

1481. During the last years of the primacy of Gerontius, mutual misunderstandings arose between him and John, and the metropolitan in bitterness resolved to retire into the Simonoff monastery, that he might there end his days in peace. John offered his place to Paisius the hegumen of the Trinity; but the monk, who well knew already how heavy a burden he undertakes who is set to govern, had no desire for that ex-

alted station, and Gerontius, at the entreaty of the Great Prince, remained on his throne till his decease. CHAP. V.

Quite at the commencement of his primacy there had come another claimant to be metropolitan of all Russia, a man named Spiridion, a native of Tver, who had made interest and procured himself to be appointed by the patriarch of Constantinople; he was not acknowledged either in Lithuania or in Moscow, but was placed under confinement at Bielo-ozero. In the mean time Kieff continued to have her own succession of orthodox metropolitans, apart from Moscow, who either received their appointment personally in Constantinople, or through letters of benediction and approval, and patriarchal exarchs or nuncios, who from time to time visited our southern provinces. Misael, a man of princely blood, was the first separate metropolitan of Kieff, after the Uniate Gregory; Simeon, in whose time Mengly Hirey, khan of the Crimæa, sacked the ancient capital, and pillaged the Pecherskay Lavra, and the church of St. Sophia; Jonah, who enjoyed the favour of Casimir, sovereign of Lithuania; and Saint Macarius, martyred on the road by the Tartars, whose uncorrupted remains repose in the cathedral of St. Sophia, ruled each in his turn for a short space their extensive diocese, having their residence in Wilna, where they with difficulty maintained themselves against the influence of Rome. 1471.

XXXV. ZOSIMUS.

After the death of Gerontius, Zosimus, archimandrite of the Simonoff monastery, was consecrated in Moscow as metropolitan without the consent of a synod; but on this occasion the selection of the Great Prince was unfortunate, for under the mask of piety was concealed in the new primate a wicked heretic. For about twenty years before this, there had been secretly spreading in Novogorod a blasphemous Jewish heresy, which rejected our Saviour Jesus Christ and all his doctrine. It was brought from Lithuania by a Jew 1491.

CHAP. V.

named Zachariah, and was mixed up with the former errors of the Strigolniks[48]. By the secret of his sorceries and cabalistic art, this Zachariah seduced two superstitious priests of Novogorod, Alexis and Dionysius, and through their means his destructive doctrines took root among the ignorant people, for they hypocritically kept up all the external observances of Christianity, although they themselves made no sort of account of them. The fame of the wisdom and virtues of these two priests deceived even the Great Prince himself, the first time that he went against Novogorod. He took them with him to Moscow, and gave to one of them the place of archpriest or dean of the cathedral of the Assumption, and to the other the same place in the cathedral of the Archangel. With them the heresy first penetrated into our orthodox capital, and although its pernicious fruits were some time before they appeared openly, nevertheless the private secretary[49] of the Tsar, whose name was Couritsin, and the Archimandrite Zosimus, were secret disciples of Alexis, and by his means the last of the two attained the rank of metropolitan.

Gennadius, the zealous Lord of Novogorod, was horror-struck on discovering this Jewish heresy amongst his flock, and was the first who gave notice of it to the metropolitan, who was then still Gerontius. But the old man, worn out with years and vexations, did not give the matter that attention which it required, but supposed that it was of no great consequence. A second and more earnest representation with stronger proofs, compelled John and Zosimus to convoke a synod of bishops; at this synod there appeared another eloquent accuser of the Judaisers and Strigolniks in the person of St. Joseph hegumen of Volokolamsk, who was the most enlightened and learned man of his times, and a pupil of St. Paphnutius, the illustrious founder of the monastery of Boroff. The heart of Joseph burned with a flaming zeal for the Church, his lips were powerfully eloquent, and his convincing letters, while they were the scourge of heresy, triumphantly defended the pure and orthodox Faith. He was personally as much dreaded by the heretics in Moscow, as

Gennadius was in Novogorod. But the protection of Zosimus, who himself shared their opinions, screened certain of the offenders in the synod. The principal heresiarch, Alexis, was already dead. Dionysius and his other followers were delivered over by the council to an anathema, and were thrown into confinement. It was not however till twelve years after that all the traces of their corrupt doctrine were eradicated in Moscow by the renewed efforts and instructions of Gennadius and Joseph; the metropolitan himself having been by that time compelled by the Great Prince to retire into the shade of his former monastery, nominally on account of habits of intemperance, that scandal might not be caused by publishing among the people his real and capital fault of heresy. After that, John delivered up his secretary, the archimandrite of the Jurieff, and others, whose guilt had been proved, and whom the first measures taken by the mildness of the Church had failed to turn into the way of repentance.

XXXVI. SIMON.

After the primacy of the Metropolitan Zosimus, so unfortunate for the Church, John, having now had much experience in spiritual affairs, selected a worthy pastor in the person of his successor Simon, who had been before his consecration hegumen of the Trinity Lavra. Perhaps the unhappy result of his departure from canonical custom in the election of Zosimus, influenced the Great Prince this time to clothe the consecration of the new primate with extraordinary solemnity. Having delivered over the primate elect into the hands of the bishops at the doors of the church, he himself received him with a complimentary speech after the Mystery of Ordination had been completed upon him, after the example of the Byzantine emperors, whom he sought to imitate on all occasions of display by a splendid ceremonial both in his court and in the Church. The metropolitan in his turn, holding his Staff in his hand, replied to him with a speech from his throne. 1496.

CHAP. V.

Before the heretical disturbances above mentioned were yet over, another superstitious agitation of men's minds concerning the speedy end of the world had caused the assembling of a council, which decreed that the beginning of the new year should be kept on the first of September instead of the first of March; and settled the Paschal Tables in the calendar for an eighth thousand of years, as calculated by the Archbishop Gennadius; for the former Table terminated in the year 1492, that is, with the completion of seven thousand years from the creation of the world. Soon after the appointment of Simon to be metropolitan, John manifested an intention of taking away the Church lands and hereditaments from the monasteries of the government of Moscow, as well as in Novogorod, where he had granted away part of them to the Sons of the boyars[50] for military service, and taken part to himself. But the metropolitan laid before the Great Prince the testamentary letters of St. Vladimir, Yaroslaff, and other sovereigns, as well as the edicts of the khans of the Horde, and John was prevailed upon to lay aside his intention. In another synod strict measures were taken by him, in concert with the metropolitan, for the preservation of purity of morals amongst the clergy; and for this end the monasteries for men were separated from those designed for women, and monks were prohibited from performing Divine service in these latter; and further, to cut off all possible occasion of scandal, widower ministers were forbidden to consecrate the sacred mysteries, and it was enjoined that all unworthy clerks should be degraded from their orders. Nor did they pass over without notice the payments demanded for conferring sacred orders, which had been so frequent a cause of dissatisfaction in Novogorod, and for which at length, though on a false accusation, the Lord Gennadius himself suffered. He was deprived of the throne of St. Sophia, and afterwards ended his days in the same Choudoff monastery from whence he had been taken to be archbishop.

About this time, and acting in the same pious spirit, Joseph Salkan, metropolitan of Kieff and successor of St. Macarius, convoked in Wilna a council of all his suffragan bishops, for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline, and for the protection of the patrimony of the Church against the encroachments of the Lithuanian nobles, who were of the Roman faith. But notwithstanding his zeal for the benefit of his flock, Joseph fell under a suspicion of heterodoxy with our ambassadors, and was even accused by them before their sovereign of conniving at the conduct of his son-in-law, Alexander of Lithuania, who would not permit his consort Helena, a daughter of John, to have her own private chapel in the palace, which most sensibly afflicted the heart of her father. In vain did the meek and virtuous Helena, while she followed with constancy her own religion, endeavour to conceal the persecution she suffered from her husband, so as not to produce a quarrel between him and her father; for it had been the first article of her marriage-contract that she should enjoy the free exercise of her religion: Alexander from his blind devotion to Rome, made it but too manifest that he spared neither his subjects nor his wife, and a cruel war was the consequence of his persecution of orthodoxy. The arms of the Russians, which had been taken up in support of the religion of their fathers, were crowned with success, in spite of all the efforts of Lithuania, the Order of the Swordbearers, and even Poland itself, the throne of which Alexander had ascended. The pope and the emperor laboured to bring about a peace, but the province of Sever on this side the Dnieper remained with us as a proof of the victories of John. Its princes willingly submitted to a sovereign of their own faith, and the Russian hierarchy gained two more dioceses, Chernigoff and Bransk; the last, however, was soon suppressed.

With the fall of the Golden Horde of Achmet another ancient diocese also became extinct, namely, that of Sarai and Podonsk, because our bishops ceased to reside in Sarai, the capital of the khans: they transferred their seat to Moscow, and acted in the quality of vicars to the metropolitan

CHAP. V.

within the sphere of his own proper jurisdiction: their residence on the steep banks of the Moskva procured them the appellation of Bishops of the Steeps[51].

Besides the painful situation of his beloved daughter in a foreign country, domestic afflictions in his own capital, and within the walls of his own palace, clouded the latter years of the glorious reign of John. His eldest son, the hope of the country, who had already shared with him the weight of the government, died in the prime of youth, leaving him a grandson named Demetrius, born of Helena, daughter of the great Stephen, Hospodar of Moldavia. A secret enmity sprung up between the two mothers Helena and the Great Princess Sophia, on account of the succession to the throne, which the latter wished to obtain for John's second son by herself, Basil. Provoked by their intrigues the monarch took the part of his young grandson, who had the right of primogeniture on his side, and determined to raise him solemnly to the throne. The Metropolitan Simon performed on him the ceremony of coronation, for the first time since the reign of Monomachus. His crown and the holy Barma were placed on the innocent youth, but only to his hurt; for Sophia by her artfulness soon prevailed over the will of John, and Basil, even during the life of his father, was declared sovereign of all Russia, while Demetrius and his unfortunate mother ended their days in confinement.

1505. The reign of Basil was only a continuation of that of John, whose plans he followed for the union and consolidation of his dominions under one head, though with more mildness in his measures. Under him the separate principality of Riazan, and the independent city of Pskoff, were insensibly absorbed into the government of Moscow, and in the same way the provinces of Sever, the appanage of the family of Shemiakin, disappeared, so that there was now no longer left any division of government within Russia. Without, a struggle was going on almost without interruption; in the East with Kazan, which was still unsubdued, and ever in a distracted state, to which Basil in vain sent kings of their own tribe; in the

South with the Horde of the Crimæa, from whence Machmet, son of Mengly Hirey, the determined enemy of Basil, forgetful of his father's league with Russia, laid waste her borders, and once even advanced upon Moscow; on the West with Sigismund king of Poland and Lithuania. But this last war was more successful than the rest in its results, and confirmed to us the conquests of John. Smolensk itself, our ancient heritage, surrendered to the Great Prince, although the bishop, Barsonophius, leaned to the side of Lithuania. He was confined in the Choudoff monastery, and upon the appointment of a new bishop named Joseph, their ancient diocese was united to the hierarchy of Moscow. The Novodayvichy monastery was built in the capital as a memorial of this joyful event. Basil also kept up friendly relations with the sovereigns of Europe, with the emperor and the pope, and in the Order of the Knights of Livonia, which had always before been hostile to Russia, he had a faithful ally against the designs of Sigismund.

Extraordinary piety was the distinguishing feature of Basil's character; he was full of reverence for all the ordinances of the holy Church, which enjoyed peace during the thirty years of his reign, and was glorified by producing illustrious saints, men beloved by God, in the same manner as she had done in the times of John. Novogorod and Pskoff during the last years of their greatness were adorned with new monasteries, the founders of which were two men of the same name of Sabba, Ephraim, and Nicander, and the two Lords, St. Euphemius, and St. Jonah; while on the border Livonia a cavern monastery, called from thence Pechersky, was dug out by the clergy who fled from the persecutions at Dorpat. But, above all, the savage North was covered with a flourishing growth of monasteries, as if it were inspired with life by the solitary exercises of the hermits who went forth from the communities of Balaam and Bielo-ozero, and sought for retirement in the forests of the new diocese of Vologda, which had been instituted in the room of Perm. It was already long since that

CHAP. V.

St. Dionysius of Gloushit, and his disciple Gregory, and Paul of Komel, had established themselves there; they were followed and emulated by Cornelius, and Theodosius of Totem, and Anthony of Sie, and still later, in the time of John the Terrible, by the three Alexanders of Komel, Sveer, and Oskeven, with many others whose names and actions cannot find room in such a rapid sketch as this. The celebrated hermits, Nilus of Sor, the writer of the Monastic Rule, Cyrill of Novo-ozero, and Nilus of Stolben, who wrought out his salvation in the district of Tver, where a little earlier the memory of Macarius of Koliazin had come to be celebrated, were also contemporaries of Basil; while the great Daniel, the hegumen of Pereyaslavla, was not only his contemporary, but his personal friend and instructor.

However, in the absence of heresies[52] other dark clouds came over the horizon of the Church; a misunderstanding broke out between Serapion Lord of Novogorod and Joseph hegumen of Volokolamsk, who had found in him no defence against the cruel oppressions of the prince of his district. The Metropolitan Simon, with the consent of the Great Prince, took the new monastery under his own protection, exempting it from the diocese of Novogorod, and transferring it to his own; on which Serapion laid an interdict on the hegumen and on all the community, and expressed himself in bitter terms of the person of the metropolitan. By the judgment of a synod he was deprived of his throne, and afterwards ended his days in a blessed manner, in the act of prayer, in the monastery of the Trinity, to which he had formerly belonged, after having been reconciled to the primate, and even to the hegumen Joseph himself.

The removal of St. Serapion was a very sensible loss to Novogorod, which remained for seventeen years without a Lord, till the consecration of Macarius. This prelate, who was destined to be metropolitan of all Russia, shewed beforehand on the throne of St. Sophia what the Church and his country might expect from him. He re-animated the clergy and the people, who were depressed by having been so long without a

head. All the monasteries, both of men and women, received from him a Rule for their conventual life[53]. During his episcopate the ancient temple of St. Sophia was renovated and adorned, and his pastoral cares penetrated even to the remotest parts of the North; the monk Elias, who was sent thither by him to preach the word of God, converted the savage natives to Christianity, and with the blessing of Macarius built the first church by the name of St. John the Baptist, at the request of the Lopars themselves.

XXXVII. BARLAAM.

We must reckon as another unhappy event for our Church, after the disagreement of the two holy men Joseph and Serapion, the unjust persecution of the pious monk Maximus, of the Holy Mountain. There began to be a great number of monks coming in quest of alms from Athos and Sinai to their brethren in Russia, during the times of the Great Prince Basil and the meek Barlaam, who had been consecrated metropolitan, after the death of Simon. The Choudoff monastery, which had already become illustrious by the discovery of the relics of the Metropolitan Alexis, served as a house of reception for the stranger pilgrims; and perhaps such interchange of charity suggested to Basil the idea of requesting the patriarch of Constantinople to send him a learned Greek to examine and arrange the rich collection of Greek MSS. which had been brought together in his palace, and had come to him from his ancestors and his mother Sophia. Maximus, a monk, who had received the best education in Italy, came from Mount Athos to gratify the wish of the sovereign; and having been welcomed by him in a flattering manner, set to work not only to arrange the library of MSS., but also to translate a Commentary on the Psalter, and to correct some of the Church books, into which there had crept gross errors from the ignorance of transcribers. But when the Metropolitan Barlaam, to escape from the noise of the world, had retired into his former monastery, the Simonoff, and the am- 1511.

CHAP. V.

bitious Daniel, hegumen of Volokolamsk, had succeeded to his chair, the useful labours of the Greek stranger were condemned, and he himself became the cause of a popular disturbance.

XXXVIII. DANIEL.

1522. A pupil of the enlightened Joseph, whose followers were noted for their extraordinary zeal, and were even distinguished from other monks by the title of Josephians, Daniel could not endure to see corrections made in their books by the learned foreigner, who besides had free access to the Great Prince, and no small influence at court. Maximus, as if from a presentiment of his fate, requested in good time his own dismissal; but he was detained, and heard from one of those most about him the bitter truth, that he had seen too much in Russia to be allowed to return. An incident which no one could have foreseen decided his lot: Basil, seeing himself childless after having been married twenty years, determined to put away his wife Salmone, with whom he had otherwise no fault to find, for her barrenness, and requested a dispensation, to enable him to do so, from the metropolitan. Daniel, wishing to please the Great Prince for his own political ends, consented, contrary to the canons of the Church, to dissolve the holy bond of matrimony, provided only that the Great Princess would retire into a monastery. Her doing so was made compulsory, and Salmone died a nun in Souzdal, while Basil contracted another marriage with Helena, daughter of the Prince Glinsky. Many secretly condemned him for this; but two monks, Bassian, a man of princely blood, who had been compelled by John to receive the tonsure in the Simonoff monastery for his devotion to the youthful Demetrius, and Maximus, the Greek, were not afraid to declare openly that the whole proceeding was unlawful. They were both imprisoned; the first in the monastery of Volokolamsk, the second in the Otroch[54] monastery at Tver, where he was closely confined during all the time of the primacy of Daniel, being never so

much as suffered to go out of his cell. His imprisonment was at length made more tolerable by his being removed to the Trinity Lavra; but notwithstanding his own touching letters, and the intervention of the œcumenical patriarchs in his behalf, the pining sufferer was never again allowed to return to that country which he longed after, nor to the Holy Mountain.

John, the Terrible, was the fruit of this forbidden marriage. His father, in delight at his birth, confided him to the prayers of St. Sergius, on whose tomb he placed the royal infant[55]. He was christened by Joasaph, the hegumen of the monastery, who was destined to suffer afterwards as metropolitan in the turbulent days of John's minority; three monks, among whom was St. Daniel of Pereyaslavla, received him from the font. Four years afterwards, Basil was 1533. taken off by a premature death, which was affecting from the piety of the dying man. The Great Prince, having disposed of the affairs of his government and family, asked for the monastic habit: his boyars, on the contrary, represented to him the example of his great father and of his ancestors, who departed this life without relinquishing their royal dignity; but Basil persisted in demanding the tonsure. Then the metropolitan replied with anger to the boyars: "No one shall take his soul away from me; a vessel of silver is good, but one of gold is better." And so he gave the tonsure to the Great Prince Basil by the name of Barlaam, after the founder of his favourite monastery of Bielo-ozero. They took the mantle from the bursar of the Trinity monastery for the royal monk, and the whole of the two communities, of The Trinity, and of Volokolamsk, bore his corpse out of the palace in procession, amidst the lamentations of the people, into the cathedral of the Archangel, which he had not long before repaired and beautified, and which was the burying-place of his royal ancestors[56].

The metropolitan hastened to administer to his tumultuous boyars and to the people the oath of allegiance to the infant prince and his mother; but he was unable even to maintain

CHAP. V.

himself long in his place. With the premature death of the regent mother his primacy terminated. The Council of the Boyars which governed the kingdom during the minority of John, threw every thing into confusion by their party-quarrels and seditions, and Daniel was the first to suffer. The powerful Princes Shouesky compelled him to sign his own abdication, and dismissed him to his former monastery of Volokolamsk, where by the rigour of his life he atoned for the errors which he had committed in his ecclesiastical government.

XXXIX. JOASAPH.

1539. THE new metropolitan, Joasaph, was promoted by them only to follow his predecessor in misfortune. Through his intercession, the Princes Belsky, who were nearly related to the youthful sovereign, and his cousin-german Vladimir were released from confinement. But the beneficent influence of the meek pastor lasted only till the fall of the Belskys. The same Princes Shouesky, after having loaded him with insults in the presence of the youthful Tsar, deposed him from his chair, and, scarcely letting him go with his life, banished him to Bielo-ozero, from whence he was removed to the Lavra. There the tomb of this holy prelate may still be seen, close to that of Serapion, Lord of Novogorod; both were deprived of their thrones, and both were accounted blessed after death. In the mean time, during ten years of continued turbulence and faction on the part of the boyars, the youth John was growing up to manhood, abandoned to the free indulgence of all his passions, through the connivance and example of his criminal guardians. His disposition, naturally harsh, became still more fierce and cruel as he grew up, and discovered a tendency to those horrors, which were to darken his old age. But for the happiness of Russia, the intervening years of his manhood were unexpectedly adorned by royal virtues, under the salutary

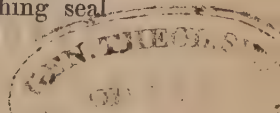
influence of the Priest Silvester, and of Adasheff, in the days of the Metropolitan Macarius. CHAP. V.

XL. MACARIUS.

Called from Novogorod by the Council of the Boyars[57], which had deposed his two predecessors, Macarius brought with him to the metropolitical throne that experience and tact, which enabled him to maintain his ground in the midst of contending parties, and he was a good counsellor to the youthful Tsar. The Shoueskys had already fallen; but the Glinskys, the uncles of the sovereign, had stepped into their place, to the disgrace of their country, which was harassed by foreign enemies, while torn by its own civil dissensions. But all this was unexpectedly changed. John, by the advice of the metropolitan, announced his intention of being crowned to his kingdom after the example of Monomachus, and of entering into a matrimonial alliance. Moscow was filled with joy. In the cathedral of the Assumption, Macarius with great pomp invested him with the holy Barma[58], the chain, the crown, and the cross of the great Monomachus, according to the order for the coronation of the Greek emperors. The Patriarch Joasaph of Constantinople by a benedictory letter confirmed John in his kingdom[59], as being the last scion of the ancient imperial house. Thirty-six metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops of the Eastern Church, subscribed this precious letter, which is still preserved in the archives of Moscow, and for which, according to the account of Kourbsky, Theodoret, a monk of the Solovetsky monastery, had been sent by John to Constantinople. Soon after this another coronation[60] in the wedding of the youthful Tsar with the virtuous Anastasia, of the house of the Romanoffs, flattered Russia with new hopes of happiness. The undertaking of pilgrimages on the part of the royal couple to the Lavra of St. Sergius, the favourite place of John's devotions, to Bielo-ozero, Piesnosh, Volokolamsk, and other monasteries, put the finishing seal

1542.

1547.



CHAP. V.

upon this event, so joyful both to the family and to the empire.

An unexpected calamity completely turned the Tsar from the ruinous courses of his youth. A dreadful conflagration consumed great part of the capital, and over its ashes there broke out an insurrection of the people; one of the Glinskys was murdered by the populace in the cathedral; on the Sparrow hills, to which he had retired, John himself trembled in dismay. At that moment, as it had been some accusing angel, a very aged man, named Silvester, a priest of Novogorod, stood at his side, and by the force of his words, struck home to his conscience. His threatenings of the vengeance of Heaven at the moment of earthly suffering, shook his soul, which had not yet become wholly cruel or obdurate. John became another man; he called to him the metropolitan and all the bishops, and solemnly professed to them his penitence for his sins; and having assembled the people in the public place[61], he bewailed his errors before them, laying the blame upon his unworthy guardians. With the wonderful reformation of the Tsar every thing around him assumed a different appearance: the guilty boyars were removed; Adasheff, the new and virtuous friend of the Tsar, illustrious not by his birth but by his actions, stood on the nearest step of the throne; and the kingdom flourished. Men of wisdom sat in the councils of the prince, and experienced leaders commanded his armies. But if Adasheff ruled the heart of John, Silvester was the director of his soul. There was something strange in the sudden appearance of this priest from Novogorod in the palace of the prince; it may be supposed that the Metropolitan Macarius, having been personally acquainted with his worth in his former diocese, availed himself of some favourable opportunity to place him about the Tsar. To promote the interest of the Church and of their country was the sole aim of both, and the glory of Russia attested that influence which they exercised during thirty years. The attention of the new government was in the first instance turned to the civil laws. A council of the most experienced

boyars, after having examined the code of John the Third, composed a new Statute Book.

John himself, notwithstanding the vices of his youth, had received good instruction, and not being without zeal for the discipline and constitutions of the Church, perceived the errors which had crept into the performance of Divine Service, and the disorders which existed among the spirituality. He convoked another council of all the Russian bishops, pre- 1551.
sided by the Metropolitan Macarius, and opened the session himself with an affecting speech, in which he exposed the unhappinesses of his earlier years. "My fathers, pastors, and teachers," said he, "see now every one of you what counsel or discernment is in him, and pray God at the same time for His merciful aid; stir up your understandings, and enlighten yourselves with sound knowledge as to all the divinely-inspired Ordinances, so as to discern in what way the Lord hath delivered them; and me, your son, enlighten and instruct to all godliness, as it ought to be with religious kings, in all righteous laws for the kingdom, in all soundness of faith, and purity; and be ye not slack to establish the whole of orthodox Christianity, that we may keep the law of Christ in all its truth, perfect and inviolate. I for my part shall always be ready, as with one soul, to join and support you either in correcting what is amiss, or confirming what is well established, according as the Holy Ghost shall shew you; if so be I should ever oppose you contrary to the letter or spirit of the Divine canons, do not ye hold your peace at it, but rebuke me; if I should still be disobedient, inhibit me without any manner of fear; so shall my soul live, and the souls of all my subjects."

John put them in mind how, in the year in which he was crowned, he had given it in charge to all the bishops and hegumens to collect the lives of the saints who had wrought out their salvation in their several dioceses or monasteries, that they might in common receive the honour of the Church, and how that the fruit of their zeal had been the glorification of twenty fresh saints, protectors by their prayers of the land of Russia. Among these were the Metropolitan Jonah, and

CHAP. V.

John, Lord of Novogorod; Sabbatius, and the Zosimi, monks of the Solovetsky, and other recluses, as Dionysius of Gloushits, Paul of Comelsk, and Alexander of Sveersk; Nikon and Paphnutius, the disciples of St. Sergius, and Alexander, the hero of the Neva. The council now repeated and confirmed the former decree that their memories should be celebrated in the Church; and also approved the new Statute Book of civil laws, which was submitted to them for revision.

In the next place, the Tsar desired of them a solution of many questions relating to the external and internal discipline of the Church, to the Church courts, the monastic state, the ceremonies, the chant, the Icons, the sign of the cross, the correction of the books, the morals of the clergy, the Letters of exemption from jurisdiction, the property of the Church, the eradication of many superstitions, &c. To all these questions the council gave a lengthy answer in writing, divided into a hundred chapters, which gave it the name, only too celebrated afterwards, of the Council of the Hundred Chapters. But though, as it seemed, all the ecclesiastical doubts of that time were resolved by these decisions of the council, which Joasaph, the former metropolitan, further revised in the quiet of his cell with the Priest Silvester; though the council itself was presided over by the Metropolitan Macarius, the eloquent writer of the lives of the saints, which he collected together in the Chetee-Menaë[62]; and though the object of the council itself was to eradicate superstitions and abuses; yet, notwithstanding all this, the prejudices and ignorance of the dark age of John shewed themselves in some of the acts of this council, because there was no enlightened eye which could impartially overlook its decisions. The learned Greek Monk, Maximus, was suffering in confinement, and the energy of his spirit was broken; and they did not apply to the œcumenical patriarchs to approve the Council of the Hundred Chapters. In this way it came to pass that certain superstitious customs and local errors were clothed with the sanction of authority, and taking root in time among the people, produced those pernicious schisms

with which the Church is even yet afflicted, while, at the same time, that correction of the Church books which had been proposed in the Hundred-chapter council, and which was indeed to be desired, was put off, owing to the troubled state of the kingdom, till the times of the patriarch Nikon, though his predecessors had already before then, by little and little, made some advances towards this great work. There is, still further, one very important circumstance, which throws a shade of suspicion over the Council of the Hundred Chapters. Its acts were never confirmed by the subscription of the Russian bishops; and not only has the original copy of them not been preserved, but none of the chronicles even so much as mention it, before the times of Nikon; and the metropolitan Macarius himself is silent concerning the council, in his Books of the Genealogies, in which he has related the history both of State and Church affairs. It may have been that he did not consent to some of its canons, or that from the loss of the original, the Acts of the council have come down to us with some mutilation in the copies.

In the mean time the internal prosperity of the kingdom shewed itself by victories gained over its enemies: kingdoms and provinces fell one after another at the feet of the youthful Tsar: the fragments of the Golden Horde, which had been broken up in the time of John III. became part of the empire of his grandson. Only a short time before this, the kingdoms of the Crimea and Kazan, which mutually supported each other, had assumed a threatening aspect, and the Khan Devlet Hirey, spreading desolation around him on his march, had approached within a short distance of the capital, to the great alarm of the Council of the Boyars, and of the youthful John; but the same khan, in his turn, fled to the Steppes at the bare rumour that the Tsar, now grown to manhood, was about to take the field. For the last time Kazan rose up in rebellion against the Russian deputy, who was sent thither when the Tartar Queen, Soumbeka, with her young son, were carried away to Moscow. The people of Kazan invited Ediger from Astrachan to be their king, and thus roused the anger of

CHAP. V.

John. Great preparations for war preceded the most important military exploit of those times. On the line of march to the rebellious city, lay the newly-erected fortress of Sviajsk; hortatory letters from the metropolitan addressed to its new colonists, and to the troops which were there assembled, urged them to the religious fulfilment of their duty[63]. At length John himself set forth: his brilliant campaign had altogether the appearance of a crusade; the solemnities of the Church services and ceremonies were mingled with the exercises of war. Prayers preceded and concluded every movement. The immense camp of the Russians was pitched within sight of Kazan, and near the tent of the Tsar was pitched the ambulatory tent-church. The attack and defence were both desperate. A mine was carried under the principal tower, and at the moment that during the celebration of the Liturgy, the deacon uttered aloud the words of the Gospel, "there shall be one flock and one shepherd," a frightful explosion announced that the walls of Kazan had fallen.

John entered in triumph into the conquered city; he himself planted in its centre the first cross, and made the circuit of the walls in procession, with the sacred Banners[64] and Icons, to consecrate it to the name of Christ. In the space of a few days he built a small church of the Annunciation, which was destined to shed the first rays of enlightenment upon the East: for from thence a wide door was opened for it to hear the good tidings of salvation. Innumerable were the happy consequences of the capture of Kazan, which made the name of John illustrious both in Europe and Asia. The ruler of Siberia offered him tribute: the princes of Gori[65], and of Circassia, their homage. Soon after, another Tartar kingdom, that of Astrachan, fell before his arms, making but a trifling resistance. The Cossacks, a new people, which had been formed in the time of his grandfather, from a mixture of tribes, with no other bond of union than the common profession of orthodoxy, about the sources of the Don, and the falls of the Dnieper, harassed Lithuania and the Crimea, and

united themselves under Russian leaders to attack the khan. It depended only on the will of John, whether this last remnant of the power of Batius should disappear from our frontiers. The Tsar did not pay due attention to the prudent advice of his nobles, but cast an ambitious eye on Lithuania; and so the Crimea recovered itself, to be the cause of future calamities to our country.

The young Tsar returned with joy from under the walls of Kazan; the birth of his son Demetrius doubled his satisfaction: he took his course straight to the Lavra, to offer up there his thanksgivings and prayers. Two holy men, representatives as it were of other times, met him at the tomb of Sergius; Joasaph, once metropolitan, who had suffered in the days of his childhood, and Maximus, the Greek, who had lingered on in confinement to a cheerless old age. Another meeting of a more joyful kind, and more befitting the conqueror, awaited him on his return to Moscow; the Metropolitan Macarius, with all his clergy, had come out in procession, and were standing to receive him at the gate of the same convent, where formerly his predecessor Cyprian had received the Icon of Vladimir, the pledge of deliverance from Tamerlane. The Tsar in an affecting speech gave an account of all his victories, humbly attributing them to the prayers of the prelate, and in the overflowing of his feelings prostrated himself in front of the procession. Macarius complimented him in return, thanking him in the name of all Russia, and fell at his feet in like manner with his clergy. His last and tenderest meeting was in the Kremlin, where he found his consort Anastasia with their child. His baptism was distinguished by the reception at the same time of three members of the royal family of Kazan into the bosom of the Church, Soumbeka, her son, who was christened Alexander, and Ediger, who had been taken captive, and who was named Simeon, all at their own free choice and desire. The metropolitan himself examined into the sincerity of their conversion.

The new diocese of Kazan was publicly established with

CHAP. V.

great solemnity. The Metropolitan Macarius, the Archbishops Pimen of Novogorod and Nicander of Rostoff, the Bishops Athanasius of Souzdal, two Gourys, of Smolensk, and Riazan, Acacius of Tver, Theodosius of Columna, Niphont of Sarai, and Cyprian of Vologda, in the presence of the court and the foreign ambassadors, elected and consecrated synodically Goury, hegumen of Selijaroff, to be archbishop of Kazan, and gave him precedence next to the archbishop of Novogorod, out of respect to his diocese, formed of a conquered kingdom. The tithe of the revenues of the conquered district, and many domains of the Tsar, were assigned for the support of the prelate, who was accompanied from Moscow to his vessels by a procession with Crosses and Banners. The conversion of many thousands of heathens and Mahometans to the light of Christianity was the fruit of the labours of Goury, which were unceasing while he lived, and he was reckoned after death among the saints. About this same time Macarius presided at another synod of less note, which condemned the beginning of a heresy which was creeping in amongst us from Lithuania. Their rejection of the canons and ordinances of the Church, her ceremonies and Icons, and their questioning the Divinity of the Saviour, discovered the guilt of Baksheen and his little knot of followers [66]. They were delivered over to an anathema, after they had been exhorted to no purpose by Artemius, hegumen of The Trinity, who afterwards himself fell under suspicion, and was banished to the Solovetsky monastery. It is supposed that Cassian also, the bishop of Riazan, was deprived of his diocese for the same cause. The successor of Artemius, the Hegumen Eleutherius, was the first who was raised to the rank of archimandrite, and his Lavra was honoured with precedence over all the monasteries of Russia, as a mark of the special zeal of John for the great saint Sergius. His piety and his gratitude to the Lord for the victories which had been vouchsafed to him were outwardly at least manifested, besides liberal alms and offerings, by his erection of the most magnificent of all the Churches of

Moscow before the Gates of the Saviour[67], which lead into the Kremlin, by the name of the Protection of the Most Holy Virgin[68]. This church, which is better known by the name of The Blessed Basil, who reposes in it, strikes the eye by its extraordinary mass of building, half oriental, half Gothic, a glorious monument of victory, and a sort of image of the conquered city of Kazan, which had come under the shadow of the antique sanctuary of Moscow.

Soon afterwards, a dangerous illness, which brought John to the verge of the grave, served for the commencement of the future miseries of Russia; for when apparently on his death-bed, he experienced a repetition of the same treasonable factions of the boyars which had troubled his minority. Even those nobles who were nearest to him refused to swear allegiance to his child Demetrius, from fear of the anarchy which might ensue from a long minority, and inclined to the side of his cousin-german Vladimir. However, the Tsar, on his recovery, appeared to forget these signs of a rebellious spirit, and in fulfilment of a vow which he had made, set out for the Lavra, Piesnosh, and Bielo-ozero, to offer up his devotions in those monasteries. The Greek Monk Maximus now appears for the last time, at the termination of his thirty years' sufferings. In consequence of some secret suggestion, of which the particulars are unknown, he warned John against prolonging his journey, and even foretold to him the premature death of his son, but he was not listened to. At Piesnosh, another remarkable meeting awaited the Tsar, which proved destructive to his peace of mind. There was living there in disgrace an ex-bishop of Columna, named Cassian, who had been the friend of the Great Prince Basil, and the Metropolitan Daniel. The old man, whose heart was hardened by years and confinement, in a conversation with John gave him advice, which only too well suited his disposition, not to keep any one about him wiser than himself, that he might be free to rule as he pleased. The seed which was thus sown in due time produced fatal fruit.

The Tsar was compensated for the loss of Demetrius by

CHAP. V.

the birth of two other sons, John and Theodore, but nothing could make up to him for the premature decease of the virtuous Anastasia, with whom all his happiness vanished. The fiery temper of his second wife Mary, a princess of Cherkask, and the intrigues of his nobles, caused the ruin of his best friends. Silvester and Adasheff were accused of having poisoned the Tsaritsa Anastasia. Both of them foreseeing their fate, endeavoured to escape into retirement; Silvester received the tonsure at Bielo-ozero, but he was summoned from thence to be tried at Moscow, and was confined in the Solovetsky; Adasheff, who some time previously had asked and obtained for himself the command of the army in Livonia, was deprived of it, and died in prison at Dorpat.

The war in Livonia still raged at that time, and was glorious to our arms, for the fortified lines and towns of the Order fell under the assaults of our generals Courbsky, Serebrian, and Adasheff, and Fellin itself, their capital, was taken, though it proved of no lasting advantage to the empire; John retained only a few towns and the bare title of Lord of Livonia. The Order, however, was crushed; its former Master, and his knights, languished in the prisons of Moscow; but the last Grand Master, Ketler, seeing no prospect of safety on any side, surrendered himself up to Sigismund king of Poland, and abdicated his military dignity as chief of the Sword-bearers, to receive in exchange the duchy of Courland. A part of his former dominions on the sea coast went to Sweden: and from this time there began a long continuance of hostilities between those two powers. But though Lithuania was now permanently united to Poland, and they could bring all their forces in common to bear against Russia, still the successes of John, up to the death of the feeble King Sigismund, were brilliant. He himself took Polotsk, and with this exploit terminated his personal glory as a warrior. The bishop of this ancient Russian diocese was sent with the prisoners to Moscow, and Trypho, of Souzdal, was appointed as archbishop there, for a short time,

till it was recovered again by the Poles. A meeting similar to that, which welcomed him after the capture of Kazan, awaited the victor on his return; though the change which had already shewn itself in his character repressed all feelings of joy in the hearts of his subjects.

The Metropolitan Macarius once more received the Tsar with a complimentary address[69] in Moscow, and soon after died. A witness of the first glorious half of the reign of John, he was spared by a merciful providence the pain of beholding the bloody horrors of the latter half, and departed, while he could yet do so, in peace, leaving behind him the blessed memory of a prudent pastor, who had directed his sovereign as far as possible to what was good. A lover of learning, but with the slender opportunities of that age, he innocently became the cause of much evil by the Council of the Hundred Chapters; but on the other hand he also rendered essential service by his learned labours, by his continuation of the Annals of Cyprian, his translation of the Greek Menæa[70], and his establishment of the first printing press in Moscow, where were printed in his time the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles. Superstitious arguments against printing, which had excited the opposition of the hand-writers, prevented its making any further progress after the death of its patron Macarius, and though there was an edition of the Gospels printed afterwards by order of the Tsar, still he left to the illustrious Prince Constantine of Ostrog, deputy-governor of Kieff, the oppportunity and the glory of printing there for the first time the entire Bible in Slavonic.

In Lithuania, after the death of Joseph Saltan, the line of orthodox metropolitans of Kieff was continued. His successor Jonah II., elected by the intercession of the Great Princess Helena, was not inferior to him in zeal; he confirmed in orthodoxy many of the Lithuanian princes, and this his success was the reason, that the King of Poland at 1522.
the Diet of Grodno forbade the appointment of the orthodox to be senators, or to fill any of the higher offices of the state: at the same time, however, he left them the right of electing

CHAP. V.

their own primates. The metropolitans who succeeded after him, and who were confirmed by the benediction of the patriarchs of Constantinople, were Joseph II., previously bishop of Polotsk, Macarius II., who had been one of the court chaplains of the Great Princess Helena, Silvester, 1569. Jonas III., in whose time the union of the principality of Lithuania with the kingdom of Poland was completed, by the constitution of the Diet of Lublin, in the person of Sigismund Augustus, and lastly, Elias; these, assisted by the victories of the sovereigns of Russia, maintained a strong opposition against the influence of Rome, and against the Lutheran heresy, which had penetrated into the provinces on our western frontiers, where the Latin confession of faith seduced many, even among the members of the clergy.

XLI. ATHANASIUS.

In Moscow, after Macarius, the Archimandrite Athanasius, confessor to the Tsar, was elected to be metropolitan, and a synodal letter confirmed to him and to his successors the privilege of wearing the white cowl, which his predecessor had worn as having been before Lord of Novogorod. But Athanasius did not remain long in his chair. Alarmed at the moral change which had taken place in his spiritual son, he after a year retired into the Novospassky, or New Monastery of the Saviour, built by John III., in place of the original Spassky monastery of his great grandfather Kalita.

The sudden retirement of the Tsar with all his family to the village of Alexandroff[71], upon the pretext of being in danger from his subjects, marked the commencement of the horrors of his reign. The capital, in consternation, sent a deputation of prelates and boyars to entreat their sovereign to return. He yielded, but only on condition that they were not to interfere between him and his victims; and the heads of the chief among the nobles fell. In a fit of incomprehensible phrensy, John divided all Russia into two parts;

one he called his own peculiar property, or Personalty[72], in which he included many towns, and quarters of the capital itself, and this he kept under his own personal government; the other part, which he called Provincial, he committed to the boyars, and this he on all occasions sacrificed to his Personalty. He surrounded himself with a guard of six thousand reckless youths, with whom he went about the towns and villages, giving them up to fire, and sword, and insult, so that his fearful body-guard of "Peculiars" got the name among the people of the Black, from that outer[73] darkness out of which they seemed to have sprung.

Avoiding the capital he built himself cells in Alexandroff, with halls and a magnificent chapel, and surrounded it with a wall in imitation of a monastery. There, habited in the black mantle of a monk, with which as if in derision he also dressed his bloodthirsty fraternity, he zealously followed the whole Rule of the Church, that he might stifle the reproaches of his conscience, praying and inflicting cruel punishments, going out from church to superintend the rack. Strange play of the human heart! The religious habits of childhood which John had imbibed with his mother's milk, the external form of religion which had become part of his nature, without having any hold upon or finding any echo in his heart, continually pierced through the hard and coarse covering of his passions, which in their turn had become his second nature. Deeply read in the Scriptures, and master of a powerful style in writing, from his terrible retreat he sent abroad fierce letters to the monasteries all around, accusing them of neglecting their Rule, and relaxing the strict discipline of the monastic life, of which he shewed himself the most zealous maintainer.

He himself also met with a determined accuser, one who was to wear a crown too, though no other than the crown of martyrdom, over the pastoral mitre. The mild and timid Athanasius had retired, having no strength to bear up against such a storm. The choice of the Tsar fell on Germanus, archbishop of Kazan. It was in vain that the pious old man

CHAP. V.

refused the office: he was ordered to occupy the apartments of the primate, and await the public ceremony of his consecration. Sensible of the duties of his calling, Germanus desired to have an interview previously with the Tsar, and in a pastoral admonition, ventured to try to turn him away from the ruinous course he was following. John, bursting into a passion, drove him out of his palace in the Kremlin to his former diocese, and proceeded to a new election.

XLII. ST. PHILIP.

1565. John then called to mind an old acquaintance of his childhood, the holy Hegumen Philip, of the noble family of Kolicheff. He had long since quitted the vanities of the world, and had retired to the wild solitude of the Solovetsky monastery, where the strict life of the monk did not prevent his occupying himself with the regulation of his own distant convent, or with diffusing the light of Christianity over the shores of the White sea. The fame of the holy life of Philip put it into the Tsar's mind to summon him to his own presence, upon the ground that he needed his spiritual counsel. With bitter tears the old man quitted his retirement, and, alarmed at the offer of so exalted a station, entreated not to be torn from his cell, and from the study of the holy Fathers. He understood the duties of the office to which he was called, and foresaw also what would be his own fate. The first thing he did was to refuse to recognise the ruinous distinction of the Tsar's "Personalty," which deprived him of part of his flock. He implored the bishops to oppose themselves firmly to such an injurious division; but some of them kept silence from fear, others connived at what was done, to gain the favour of men; all besought him not to irritate their frantic sovereign by attempting to withdraw himself, nor abandon the kingdom and the Church to his wrath; and in deference to their hopes, which were destined to be disappointed, Philip consented, not wishing to incur the im-

putation of pride and obstinacy. He knew that fresh horrors would be sure soon to bring him face to face with John, and give him an opportunity of speaking to him the words of truth.

On the very day of his consecration he gave utterance to words of admonition and reproof in the answer which he made from his chair to the customary address of recognition by the Tsar. "For silence," said the zealous pastor, "lays sin upon the soul, and brings death to the whole people." John, still under the influence of his first impression, listened quietly to the metropolitan, and put on a show of courteousness towards him, or, to speak more correctly, of endurance; the executions ceased for a time, though that was indeed but a short one. Very soon they began again with fresh horrors in the wretched capital, and the cries of the boyars, who fled to Philip for protection, deeply wrung his soul.

Once, on a Sunday, while he was celebrating the liturgy in the cathedral of the Assumption, the Tsar entered with a crowd of his "Peculiars," dressed in strange attire, and presented himself before the primate's chair to receive the blessing. But the prelate kept his eyes steadily fixed on the Icon of the Saviour, and appeared not to notice the approach of the sovereign. The boyars announced to him that John was there. "I do not recognise the Tsar," he exclaimed, "in any such dress; I do not recognise him either in the acts of his government. What is this that thou hast done, O Tsar, to put off from thee the form of thine honour? Fear the judgments of God. Here we are offering up the bloodless sacrifice to the Lord; while behind the altar there is flowing the innocent blood of Christian men." John boiled over with fury, and tried to stop his lips with menaces; but these had no terrors for the holy man. "I am a stranger and a pilgrim upon earth, as all my fathers were," he quietly replied, "and I am ready to suffer for the truth. Where would be my faith if I kept silence?"

John left the church almost beside himself with passion; but still, notwithstanding the suggestions of those about him,

CHAP. V.

some secret awe restrained him from laying hands on the saint; he only avoided his presence, and took care never to meet him but in the churches, and there he heard himself reproved. A procession brought them both together upon the walls of the Däevichy convent, and the metropolitan, as he turned himself towards the people, perceived one of the "Peculiars" with his head covered; he pointed out the offender to John, and complained of this Tartar habit of his suite. But the favourite of the Tsar had already taken off his tafia[71], and in his turn accused Philip of calumny. John at length felt determined to throw off the yoke of his virtues, by which he felt himself oppressed, and sought immediately for something like a ground of accusation against him. He sent Paphnutius, bishop of Souzdal, to the Solovetsky monastery, to make enquiries respecting the life of Philip on the spot itself, where the greater part of it had been spent in spiritual exercises. But none of the community dared to calumniate their former superior; only one man, the Hegumen Paisius, was induced by flattery and threats to accuse him. The Tsar, overjoyed, cited the metropolitan as a criminal before a spiritual council, where, in the number of his judges, sat the Lord of Novogorod, the ambitious Pimen, destined soon after to be rewarded as he deserved, with Philotheus of Riazan, Paphnutius of Souzdal, and others who were equally creatures of John. Imprisonment was the punishment they awarded him. St. Philip had foretold this to Pimen; and laying aside, of his own accord, his mantle and white cowl, he joyfully surrendered them to the Tsar, begging to be restored to his retired monastery and quiet, and imploring the bishops to stand up firmly for the Church of Christ. But John, who had been publicly reproved, wished to take an equally public and triumphant revenge. He compelled the metropolitan to perform once more the service of the liturgy. A crowd of the "Peculiars" rushed into the church with a shout after the service was begun, when the prelate was now standing before the altar quietly offering up his last sacrifice, and ready also to offer up himself for the name of Christ;

they tore his robes from him, and left nothing on him but a shirt, and so dragged him to prison. The old man made the sign of the cross, and gave his benediction to the people as they were taking him along, and only repeated this one word, "Pray!" and at the doors of the cathedral, he exclaimed, "I rejoice that I have received all this for the sake of the Church. Alas! the times of her widowhood are coming, when her shepherds shall be despised as hirelings." CHAP. V.

On the next day, in the royal palace, and in the presence of the Tsar, Philip's sentence of deposition was announced to him. After having heard his own condemnation unmoved, he once more, for the last time, implored the Tsar to remember the good examples of his ancestors, and cease from his murders. In the monastery of St. Nicholas, where he was temporarily confined, he received as a present from John the bloody head of his nephew. Philip blessed it, and returned it to the sender. A week afterwards, he was conducted, under a strong guard, to the Otroch monastery in Tver, where he continued in his narrow cell in unceasing prayer till the time of his martyrdom.

XLIII. CYRILL III.

Cyrill, a retiring monk, the hegumen of the Novinsky[75] monastery, was consecrated in the room of Philip, but neither Church nor State were sensible of his presence on the throne of Moscow. He and his successor, Anthony, who had been archbishop of Polotsk, glided like shadows through the gloom of the latter dreadful years of John. After St. Philip, they shewed as if they had been already dead[76]. John made an attack on his own city of Novogorod, while he had still upon his hands an unsuccessful war with Sigismund; suspicion of their inclining to the king of Poland served him as a pretence for laying waste his own towns. Every thing was given up to fire and sword on his march to the Ilmen, beginning from Kleen. In the midst of the desolation which he had 1568.

CHAP. V.

caused in Tver, the torturer did not forget his former victim; he sent his worthy assistant, Maliout Skouratoff, as if for Philip's blessing, to the Otroch monastery. But St. Philip quietly said to him, "Execute thy mission;" and was strangled in his cell, suffering for the truth like another John the Baptist. The Church of Russia has been distinguished by many great prelates, but among them all there is only this one martyr, and his glory is incorruptible, even as are his holy relics themselves. The living words which he spake have kept as it were life and power even in his dead body, and this immoveable pillar which supports the Church crumbles not away[77]. On four such pillars the Church of Moscow and of all Russia rests: Peter, Alexis, Jonah, Philip. Who can shake so firm a foundation? The relics of the holy martyr lie in the cathedral of the Assumption: in vain the Solovetsky convent desired to have them in the days of the mild Theodore, that he who had aforetime chosen the rocky cave of the ocean to be his lone retreat, might rest within hearing of its hoary waves. It was right that the good shepherd, who had laid down his life for the sheep, should repose on the spot where he had laboured and suffered.

From Tver John pursued his march, marking his track with blood. His band preceded him in the commission of murders at Novogorod; the monks and the wealthiest of the citizens were put to the torture, and many were unable to support the blows. Of the clergy alone more than five hundred suffered; the property of the monasteries was plundered, and the common people were cast by thousands into the Volkhoff; Pimen, the Lord, went out to meet him with a procession and crosses to the bridge. The Tsar called him a traitor, and fiercely ordered him to go and celebrate the liturgy in the cathedral of St. Sophia. From the church John went to him to dinner in the refectory, and at a given signal his *Peculiars* rushed upon the archbishop with a shout, seized all the boyars, and put them under guard; he himself was sent to the village of Alexandroff, and there deprived of his dignity, and shut up in the monastery at Toula. Novogorod

meantime was filled with blood, and the number of deaths was still further swelled by a famine and pestilence which followed in the train of the executions; so that it literally lay desolate after the terrible visit of John. He collected there a vast spoil, but fled out of the monastery of Khoutinsk, struck with a mysterious dread, when he wished to touch the shrine of the venerable Barlaam. After having sacrilegiously plundered some religious houses, he devoutly adorned others: the Trinity Lavra and the monastery of St. Cyrill were the exclusive objects of his zeal. Two cathedrals, of the Assumption, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, were built by him within the Lavra, while the convent of Bielo-ozero was fortified with strong walls, within which he hoped to find security from the incursions of the Tartars, and from the attacks of his own subjects; for there he intended to receive the tonsure, and there he deposited his treasures, the spoils which he had taken from Kazan and Novogorod[78].

Pskoff narrowly escaped sharing the fate of the ancient capital of Rurik. Already the terrible destroyer stood before her walls, and her last night seemed to overshadow the trembling city: all the citizens passed it in prayer; the bell sounded[79] for mattins, and the tranquillizing sound softened his cruel heart; John relented, and became calm; the people met him with bread and salt; the mad hermit Salos in his cell offered him instead a piece of raw flesh. "I am a Christian," said the Tsar in astonishment, "and do not eat flesh during the Great Fast!" "At all events thou drinkest man's blood," replied the daring hermit; and John, confounded, did not answer him a word, but hastened away from Pskoff. No agreeable guest awaited him at Moscow. The warlike khan, Devlet Hirey, with the Horde of the Crimea, had passed his generals on the Oka, approached close to Moscow, and burned all the suburbs. The Metropolitan Cyrill was very near being suffocated by the smoke in the Kremlin; John fled. A second incursion of the khan was less successful. The illustrious commander Vorotinsky, destined afterwards to fall a victim to the ingra-

CHAP. V.

titude of John, completely defeated the khan at no great distance from the capital. The Tsar in the mean time again retired to Novogorod, but this time without any shedding of blood, as a humble worshipper on the same spot where he had before raged a cruel persecutor. He brought with him, for the consolation of the citizens, a new Lord, Leonidas.

Troubled in conscience, John sought as it were involuntarily to place himself under the shadow of the Church to find a refuge from the storm within, and was ever filling it with his atrocities; so that at each step of his life we find acts of religion closely joined with murders, and there glimmer in a strange mixture about him at one time the forms of prelates, at another of his Peculiars. After he had put St. Philip to death, and deprived Pimen, it was a strange sight to see the same man, who had thus given himself up to all the fury of his own passions, humbly asking of a synod of bishops for a dispensation to contract a fourth marriage. They granted him the dispensation, contrary to the canons of the Church, and imposed on him a certain penance[80], but said nothing of the torrents of blood which he had shed. This occurred after the death of Cyrill, during the vacancy of the metropolitan throne. Anthony, who was elevated to his place, presided in another council, which, at the demand of
1572. the Tsar, prohibited the monasteries from acquiring any more landed property, and restored to the sovereign those properties which had been given them by the Great Princes of Moscow. The distressed circumstances of Russia compelled her to have recourse to this measure.

XLIV. ANTHONY.

The odious Personalty, which had cost so much blood, was at length done away with, but the blood of the higher dignitaries, both in Church and State, did not cease to flow. Among those who suffered were Leonidas, Lord of Novogorod, and Cornelius, the pious hegumen of the Pechersky[81], who

was more fortunate in his meeting with John before the threatened destruction of Pskoff, than at his own convent at the time of his campaign in Livonia; also Theodoret, a just man, who had formerly brought him the benedictory letter of the patriarch on his accession to the throne, and since that time had retired to the north, where he founded a monastery in the midst of the Lopars, whom he baptized. While John thus acted himself the part of an enemy in the interior of his kingdom, new and powerful enemies arose from without. The unhappy district of Livonia continued to be the occasion and the theatre of a bloody contest. On one side, it was desolated by the armies of John, who aspired to become himself its Lord, while he conferred the nominal title of king of Livonia on the Danish Prince Magnus, whom he had married to his niece; on the other side, the Swedes threw themselves upon it, and endeavoured all they could to obtain permanent possession of the sea coasts; there appeared also a third powerful invader, stronger and more active than his rivals, in Stephen Batori[82], the new king of Poland, who was elected from the Seven Towns after the flight of Henry of Valois. Not long before this, the Estates of Lithuania and Poland had offered the crown of those countries to Theodore, the youthful son of John; but the ambition of his father, who desired to appropriate it to himself, lost it to them both. Exactly the same thing was destined some years later to be repeated, on the part of Sigismund and his son Vladislaff of Poland, with respect to Russia. The hero Batori, who had grown grey in battles, by the glory of his victories blunted the sword of our leaders. The ancient city of Polotsk, notwithstanding the brave defence of its inhabitants, who were encouraged by their Archbishop Cyprian, was obliged to surrender. The enemy advanced even into our own provinces, and pitched his camp under the walls of Pskoff; but our brave commander, Shouesky, beat off all his assaults, and rendered a long siege fruitless.

An incomprehensible pusillanimity, caused by the inward trouble of his conscience, took possession of the soul of John.

CHAP. V.

Though he had a numerous army of his own, he sought aid from the mediation of the foreign powers, with whom, during the whole course of his long reign, he kept up relations of friendly and commercial intercourse. The emperor and the pope intervened in the affairs of Poland. Gregory XIII. took care not to neglect an opportunity so favourable to his views: he despatched to the contending parties the Jesuit Anthony Possevin, who, in his quality of mediator, passed from one camp to the other, and succeeded in negociating an armistice on terms disadvantageous to Russia; for after so many and great sacrifices, she gave up Livonia and Polotsk to Lithuania. The wily Anthony used all his efforts to bring John to admit the Florentine Union, and in every interview which he had with him on political matters contrived to let fall some words about the union of the Churches; but John shewed no less address in evading all discussion, as he wished not at that time to say any thing which might irritate the legate, or prejudice his own affairs; but when he was relieved from his apprehensions by the conclusion of the armistice, he gave him more decided answers: sometimes, unable to restrain the violence of his temper, he expressed himself strongly on the ambition and tyranny of the Romish pontiffs, and then again fell to a calmer tone on perceiving the displeasure of Possevin; yet, notwithstanding his repeated instances, John persisted in refusing to permit the Venetian merchants to have Latin churches in his dominions, and at length honourably dismissed the ambassador with rich presents. The visit of Anthony, though it produced no effect in Moscow, left behind it deep traces in Lithuania, where his zealous exhortations and wily policy produced some years later that Unia, which appears as the source of such fatal mischief in the annals of our Church and country.

The subjugation of Siberia by Yermak gives us the last glimpse of the sunshine of John's greatness, who became more renowned in the East than in the West. A third Tartar kingdom was now laid at the foot of his throne: there remained only the menacing Horde of the Crimea to save

the memory of the Mongols from total extinction. But John himself prematurely descended to the tomb, having been consumed by the inward fire of his passions during all his life. He was violently affected at the wretched end of his son John: the phrensied father struck him with his staff in an access of passion, and only came to himself again over his corpse. Rich alms for the good of his soul were sent to Sinai and Athos, and to the Holy Sepulchre. There remained to succeed him only the feeble Theodore, and Demetrius yet a child, the fruit of his seventh marriage, whose name was to be sadly memorable to Russia. At length, John's mental disease communicated itself to his body. Surrounded by so many shades of murdered men, he set as a blood-red sun in mists. At the hour of his decease, the Metropolitan Dionysius, knowing his sovereign's wish, approached to give him the tonsure in the name of his favourite monastery of Bielo-ozero: and so from the Terrible John he became the simple Monk Jonah, and rendered up his spirit to the Heavenly judge of his dreadful reign on earth.

XLV. DIONYSIUS.

The peaceful reign of Theodore succeeded as a calm after the storm. In his person the race of Rurik took its leave of Russia, after having conferred on her its last benefits, and its parting with us is the more marked from the repose of the interval which occurred between the horrors of the reign of John and the civil wars of the Pretenders. Five boyars of the council had been left by the late powerful monarch as guardians to his feeble son: the Princes Shouesky, Mistislafsky, and Belsky, and with these his relatives or connections Nicetas Romanoff, his uncle, and his brother-in-law Boris Godounoff, afterwards to be Tsar, who soon seized the reins of government, and got rid of the other nobles. The child Demetrius, with his mother, the Tsaritsa Martha, and all her 1582.

CHAP. V.

court, were sent, as if in order to his education there, to the appanage of Ouglich. After the example of his father, Theodore was crowned to his kingdom; the Metropolitan Dionysius placed on his head the crown of the Monomachi, and anointed him with the holy ointment[83], according to the order for the coronation of the Greek emperors, which John had received from the patriarch. By the prudent dispositions of Godounoff, the state prospered, and was at peace with the neighbouring powers of Sweden and Poland, where the aged Batori still lived on to enjoy his glory, and extended itself in the direction of the East. The building of Archangel, and of Oural, of the open town of the Cossacks on the Volga, and of fortresses on the Terek[84], marked the extreme limits of the empire. Siberia, which had been abandoned after its conquest by Yermak, was a second time subdued by the generals of the Tsar, who established themselves in Tobolsk, near Isker, its ancient capital. The king, whose name was Kouchoum, fled to the steppes. His sons were already captives at the court of Theodore, with Simeon, of the family of Kazan, who had been king of Kasimoff, and who had received instead the title of Great Prince of Tver. Besides these, yet one more kingdom submitted itself, the ancient Iberia, which had been crushed between the Persians and the Turks. Its king, Alexander, took the oath of allegiance to Russia, and Theodore despatched priests into his provinces to maintain[85] the influence of Christianity and civilization among the inhabitants, who had been so long and so severely tried by suffering. The ambition of Boris was the only thing that broke for a time the tranquillity of the palace in the Kremlin, by exciting the hatred of the boyars, on whom he in return revenged himself by throwing them into confinement. The Prince Shouesky, in concert with the metropolitan, opposed the regent, and wished to persuade Theodore to separate himself from Irene, the sister of Godounoff, on the ground of her barrenness, as his grandfather had done by Salmone; but their design became known. In vain Dionysius endeavoured to reconcile Shouesky with Boris, and thought that he had

succeeded: the reconciliation was not lasting, and the renowned defender of Pskoff ended his days in a dungeon at Bielo-ozero. The metropolitan himself, a man of a decided character, who was surnamed Grammaticus for his learning and eloquence, suffered on account of his illustrious friend. He ventured to accuse Godounoff to the Tsar of arbitrariness and persecution, but was unable to stand against his power. Dionysius was deprived of his chair, as was also his faithful friend and vicar Barlaam, archbishop of the Steeps, and was sent to Novogorod, and there died in his former monastery of Khoutinsk. In accordance with the desire of the regent, Job, archbishop of Rostoff, who had been not long before bishop of Columna, was raised to the chair of Moscow and all Russia. From this point begin the annals of the patriarchs. 1587.

CHAP. VI.

THE PATRIARCHS.

I. JOB.

CHAP. VI. 1587.

A most important event took place at this time in the Russian Church; important from the circumstances of the time itself; for the prosperity of the state was already declining to its fall, with the extinction of the race of Rurik, and a storm of long continuance impended, in which the Church, in the persons of her chief prelates, saved the country by seizing the helm; important also no less from its re-establishing the external order of the Church. About 150 years had elapsed since the fall of Constantinople; and the metropolitans of all Russia, who were appointed during all that time by synods of their own bishops, had not been confirmed by the patriarchs, although they still reckoned themselves as forming part of their spiritual province. Their acquiescence in this, in the first instance, and the calamitous circumstances of the East, might partly excuse this irregularity in that subordination of the hierarchy, which is so necessary to the unity of the Catholic Church; but the longer continuance of such a state of things might have been attended with danger. The remoteness, indeed, and the very extent of the Russian Church, necessarily prevented its immediate dependence upon the depressed see of Constantinople; but, on the other hand, it was impossible for her to become independent without the common consent of the four œcumenical patriarchs, lest she should fall into a fatal violation of unity[86].

Our Lord Jesus Christ, in His care for that Church which He purchased with His precious blood, Himself orders all for

its good, and often works by such means as outwardly may be taken for the mere fortunate concurrence of circumstances, while they are in reality the secret ways of His Providence. Within a short space of time, two patriarchs, of Antioch, and Constantinople, came in quest of alms into our country; and the pious Tsar Theodore, having felt his soul gratified by the magnificence of the Church-ceremonies in which they took part, conceived a wish to elevate the metropolitans of all Russia to the rank of patriarchs; and this spontaneous impulse of his heart was perhaps the only really independent act of all his reign, the only one in which the ambition of Boris had no share. The synodical institution of a fifth patriarch in the place of the patriarch of Rome, who had fallen away[87], appeared so great an event in the ecclesiastical world, as we may see from the language of the contemporary acts, that it could never have proceeded from any political calculations of people and of an age which lived rather an ecclesiastical than a civil life. The very gradual way in which the affair made progress, of itself shews how doubtfully, and as it were apprehensively, it was at first undertaken; and what is most remarkable of all, the Church of Russia heard of it only after it had already been agreed upon between the Tsar and the patriarch of Constantinople.

In the year 1580, which was in the lifetime of the Metropolitan Dionysius, Joachim, patriarch of Antioch, came to Moscow, and their meeting in the cathedral of the Assumption gave the first idea of establishing the Russian patriarchate; for often from small beginnings great events take their rise. Dionysius, though only metropolitan, would not yield precedence to the Patriarch Joachim, but gave him his own benediction first, before he received the benediction from him, which the patriarch slightly remarked upon at the time. Soon afterwards, the pious Tsar, after making a statement to the boyars of his council on the history of the ancient and new mode of appointing our metropolitans, gave it as his judgment that it would be more suitable to erect a patriarchate in Russia, and sent the Boyar Godounoff to confer upon this

CHAP. VI.

idea with the prelate of Antioch; but Joachim returned for answer that such a matter was for the judgment of a full synod of the heads of the Church, and only promised for himself that he would consult the patriarch of Constantinople and the other two patriarchs respecting it.

After an interval of two years, when Job was now metropolitan, Russia was visited by the patriarch of Constantinople himself, Jeremiah II., a man deservedly celebrated for his learning, and for his sufferings in the cause of the Church. He was even imprisoned by the Sultan Amurath, in Rhodes, for his firm defence of her rights. Deprived by the Turks of his ancient patriarchal Church, Jeremiah came to beg assistance from the Tsar Theodore, having been also previously informed of his wishes by the patriarch of Antioch, and was received with that honour which was due to the first among the œcumenical patriarchs, on whom also the Muscovite Church itself depended. The monarch, overjoyed at his coming, proposed to the prelate to remain in Russia for good, so avoiding the troubles of the East, and to set up his patriarchal throne in the former capital Vladimir; for Theodore, with all his desire to have a patriarch in Russia, was still in some doubt; being at once backward to violate the rights of the see of Constantinople, by establishing the independence of the Russian Church, and at the same time not wishing to see near his own person as primate a foreigner, who was ignorant of our manners, and unable even to advise with him in his own language; neither did he choose to do any thing to mortify the Metropolitan Job, who was protected by the Godonnoffs: and here was the only point in which the personal views of Boris had any influence in this whole business, which was of such immense importance.

Jeremiah, experienced from age, having grown grey amid the difficult circumstances of the East, and being zealous to maintain his own see, could not consent to the Tsar's proposal. He saw clearly that a distant residence at Vladimir would make him equally useless to both the Churches of Constantinople and Moscow, and requested to be allowed to take

his leave and return to Constantinople. At last however, after new instances on the part of the Tsar, he determined to appoint the Metropolitan Job, on his election and presentation, to be patriarch of all Russia. A synod of all the Russian bishops was solemnly convoked in the capital; the Tsar in person proposed to them to consult together on the institution of a patriarchate of Moscow; and the council submitted itself entirely to the wishes of the monarch, having the firmest assurance of his pious zeal for the good of the Church. They assembled in the cathedral of the Assumption for the election of three spiritual persons, leaving the final choice of one out of these to the Tsar; the Patriarch Jeremiah brought their names to the palace, and Theodore stopped at once at the name of Job, which had been placed first upon the list. CHAP. VI

But now that the legitimate consent of the see of Constantinople had once been obtained for the independent existence of the Russian Church, the monarch made it his business to take care that the rights of a fraternal equality between the two patriarchs should in no respect be violated, and that from the very first moment Job of Moscow should enjoy a complete independence of Constantinople. Accordingly at his Nomination[1] he was ordered to kiss the lips of Jeremiah, as a brother, and not to lay aside his crozier unless Jeremiah laid aside his too. His style and address were also changed by adding the prefix of Œcumenical Lord. Job did not return thanks standing with a wax light in his hand in the middle of the church, after the ancient order of Constantinople, but they both mutually complimented each other upon the ambon, and so separating, retired with equal honour by different doors[2]. Jeremiah solemnly performed the consecration, assisted by the synod, and repeated again over the patriarch-elect the whole office for the ordination of a bishop, as it was rightly thought that a double portion of grace was requisite for the chief pastor of the Church. Then both patriarchs seated themselves together side by side on an elevated ambon[3], and the sovereign placed in the hands of Job a most costly crozier, together with a rich mantle and white cowl, ornamented with

CHAP. VI.

precious stones. A royal banquet awaited the prelates in the palace, and Godounoff himself, the Tsar's master of horse, held the bridle of the new patriarch of Moscow when, according to custom, he rode round the walls to bless all the city. The interchange of magnificent presents between the Tsar and the patriarch concluded the ceremonies.

Some days having intervened, Job, in the presence of the Most Holy Jeremiah, appointed two archbishops, Alexander of Novogorod, and Barlaam of Rostoff, to be metropolitans[6] of the same dioceses; and afterwards two others, Gelasius, bishop of the Steeps, as vicar in the patriarch's own diocese, and the archimandrite of the monastery at Kazan, the illustrious Hermogenes, to be metropolitan of Kazan. The first two had been put in nomination for the patriarchate at the time of the election of Job, and after it the names of each of them were again presented to the Tsar, together with those of two archimandrites, for him to elect to the new metropolitan sees which they had respectively filled before with a lower title. The Tsar Theodore Ivanovich had previously arranged with the Most Holy Jeremiah that the patriarchs of Moscow should be appointed by the council of their own bishops, notice only being given at the time to the see of Constantinople, as was to be done reciprocally at the change of any one of the œcumenical patriarchs; and for the sake of having the council which was to elect them complete, with all the ranks of the hierarchy, it was determined at the same time to increase the number of metropolitan sees in the Russian Church to four, and to raise six bishopries to the rank of archbishopries, which were those of Vologda, Souzdal, Nijny-Novogorod, Smolensk, Riazan, and Tver, also to restore the two former bishopries of Colomna and Bransk, and to add five more new ones, of Pskoff, Rjeff of Vladimir, Oustiog, Bielozero, and Dmitroff. The Tsar, for greater security, ordered an account to be drawn up and engrossed on parchment of all this new institution of metropolitan archiepiscopal and episcopal sees, together with the coming of Jeremiah, his consecration of Job, and his giving consent to the future

appointment of the patriarchs of all Russia by the council of their own bishops. He gave force and authenticity to this document by causing to be affixed to it his own royal seal, as well as the seal of the two patriarchs, and of all our own and as many Greek bishops as were present. The greater part of the Russian archimandrites and hegumens joined in with their written subscriptions, as did also the archimandrites of Constantinople, and those from the holy mountains of Sinai and Athos, and from the Holy Sepulchre, who had come with the patriarch. On the return of spring, Jeremiah was dismissed with magnificent presents and great honour, having promised to send speedily letters of confirmation from the œcumenical council[7].

In the mean time, the change in the external relations of the primate of Moscow with the primate of Constantinople, by which from a subordinate metropolitan he became a brother patriarch and equal, did not affect the internal relation in which he stood to his own Church. The title only was raised, but in fact the metropolitan by becoming patriarch gained no new right or power over his bishops; his ecclesiastical court continued on exactly the same footing, and had just the same jurisdiction as before over the spirituality who were subject to him, and over all the domains which belonged to him, with the exception of those religious houses, which had had the privilege granted them of having their own separate judicatories by letters of exemption from the Great Princes. The former customary dues were continued, which accrued from the decision of such judicial matters as came before him, in cases of marriage, inheritance, wills, sacrilege, and other matters; also the regular contribution which the metropolitans had received from each parish of their ecclesiastical province, and the fixed payments allowed by canon at ordinations of deacons and priests, and presents on the consecration of bishops. Neither was the court itself of the ancient metropolitans changed, which consisted of their own boyars, gentlemen, clerks, and retainers, and of the officers of their chanceries and consistories, so as to be

CHAP. VI.

the counterpart of the court of the Great Princes themselves. With respect to the autocrat, the patriarch remained in the same sacred position in which from all antiquity the Catholic Church had placed her prelates in the presence of Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, and others of the greatest Roman emperors. As a spiritual father and intercessor with God for the Tsar, Job was invited by him to share in his councils, in which he otherwise never interposed of himself; and with his blessing those matters were concluded upon, which were submitted to him for consideration by the sovereign, who trusted to his experience in all the more difficult conjunctures of his government.

A year after the departure of Jeremiah, Dionysius, metropolitan of Tirnoff[8] and all Bulgaria, who was descended from the imperial race of the Cantacuzenes and Paleologi, brought to Moscow to the Tsar and patriarch synodical letters of confirmation from the œcumenical patriarchs, in which they affectionately acknowledged the patriarch of Moscow as their brother, in the place of the Roman bishop, who had fallen away, and assigned him the fifth place in the hierarchy of the Universal Church, and in her prayers, next after the patriarch of Jerusalem; although the first wish of Theodore had been that the primate of Muscovy should be named third, yielding precedence to the patriarch of Alexandria only on account of his title of Œcumenical Judge[9]. This document was signed by only three patriarchs, Jeremiah of Constantinople, Joachim of Antioch, and Sophronius of Jerusalem, the fourth, of Alexandria, being dead; and further, by forty-two of the eastern metropolitans, nineteen archbishops, and twenty bishops, with the rest of the clergy who were present at the council. Notwithstanding this, the Tsar and the patriarch still continued to make instances to obtain the third place; and on occasion of Dionysius of Tirnoff publicly taking his leave, the Most Holy Job declined acceding to his proposal, that he should select some one of the Greek metropolitans as his representative at the patriarchal see of Constantinople, as was usual with the other

heads of the Eastern hierarchy. The Tsar dismissed the Metropolitan Dionysius with great honour, and with most magnificent presents to all the patriarchs, and a long epistle, in which he recapitulated to the whole council, and particularly to the Lord of Constantinople, all the details of his coming into Russia, of the negotiation, the election, and even of the rank of precedence given to Job, and sent at the same time bountiful alms for the erection of a new patriarchal Church, to replace the ancient Church of the Almighty Ruler, which had been taken away from the Christians by the Sultan Amurath.

The constitution of the orthodox Church in Russia had only just been thus settled, as we have described, when she was threatened with a great danger on the side of Poland and Lithuania, on occasion of the election of a new king. Poland was without a government, and parties were divided in the diet at Cracow, where, of three candidates for her slippery throne, Maximilian of Austria, Sigismund of Sweden, and Theodore himself, the popular majority already shewed a disposition to favour the Tsar, but the decided answer of our ambassadors on the unchangeable orthodoxy of our sovereign opened the way for the prince of Sweden; and from the accession of Sigismund, who was a zealot for Rome, there began that course of hostile policy of the Western Church against Russia which so cruelly manifested itself in the Unia and the pretenders, and at length in the calamitous sacking and destruction of Moscow. Theodore, as if he had a presentiment of the storm which was coming from Sigismund, sought by all means to persuade Maximilian not to yield up to him his pretensions to the Polish crown; but the establishment of friendly relations with the emperor, and royal presents of great value, designed to engage him in the plan of a general crusade to be undertaken in common, were the only fruits which he obtained of his proposed coalition.

Border disputes arose with Sweden, on account of the frequent incursions of the Swedes into Carelia, where they laid waste the domains of the Solovetsky monastery, and several

CHAP. VI.

small unprotected convents. The Tsar, having failed to obtain satisfaction, took the field himself, and commenced the campaign by besieging Narva. On the capture, however, of this town by assault, the war was terminated, and a short armistice was concluded, which left Russia in possession of several border fortresses. The hostile intentions of Sweden shewed themselves on the first favourable opportunity that she found, in the time of the troubles caused by the pretenders.

But the most fatal event of this period, which in the end cost so much Christian blood, was the unfortunate death of the Prince Demetrius, half brother to Theodore, who was murdered when only eight years old at Ouglich. According to the account of all the annalists, and the unanimous voice of the people, he fell by the hands of emissaries employed by Godounoff, from fear that Demetrius would be his enemy, and that by the extirpation of this last scion of the royal stock, the Russian empire might pass to his own family. The Prince Basil Shouesky, who was sent by the Tsar to Ouglich to investigate this deed of blood, accused the citizens, who had put the murderers of the princes to death, as guilty of insurrection, while he charged his uncles the Naghi, and all who had been about his person, with carelessness in providing for his security; at this mock enquiry many witnesses were brought forward, to make it appear that the blessed child had been seized suddenly by a fit while at play, and so had fallen upon a knife and run it into him. His innocent body was buried in the cathedral at Ouglich; while the zealous citizens were pursued with the punishments of death or exile; Pelim, in the marshy wastes of Siberia, was colonized with them, and the populous city of Ouglich was left without inhabitants, while the bodies of those who had been killed there as the murderers of the young prince, that is, of the city officer Bitiatofsky, his son and nephew, of the son of Demetrius's nurse, and others, who were reported to have been concerned in the murder, were committed to the ground with honour. The three Naghi, uncles of the lad, were sent to different distant prisons; the Tsaritsa his mother was com-

pelled to receive the tonsure under the name of Martha, in the remote district of Bielo-ozero, as a member of the poor convent of St. Nicholas. The talk of the people was quieted for a time, as under a little dust, by multiplied acts of beneficence on the part of Boris, after the dreadful conflagrations which laid waste Moscow and other cities; and afterwards, all means that human precaution could devise were taken to stifle the lamentations of the land of Russia, and the innocent blood which cried out from her bosom: In vain! The Lord himself appeared as the avenger of iniquity.

An unexpected incursion of Kazi Hirey, khan of the Crimea, drew off for a time the general attention. The Russian generals allowed the Tartar army to pass the Oka, and from the heights of the Sparrow Hills the khan, greedy of plunder, already devoured with his eyes the golden-roofed city of Moscow, as though certain of the prey which his innumerable hosts surrounded. But from the upper apartments[10] of his palace in the Kremlin the pious Theodore looked down calmly upon the hostile masses of the infidels, and considered that fear would be a sin: he took the Icon of our Lady of the Don, which in former time had accompanied his ancestor Demetrius at the battle with Mamai; the Patriarch Job caused Litanies[11] to be sung, and committed it to the assembled clergy, to carry in procession round the walls; after which he set it up under the tent in the ambulatory church of St. Sergius, our never-failing protector in the hour of need, in the midst of the troops which had been collected and were encamped before the gates of the capital. For a whole day they fought from the walls and under the walls, and Godounoff with his generals had the direction of the battle; for a whole day a fearful suspense agitated the hearts of all the besieged, except that of Theodore alone, who calmly went to sleep amidst the tumult and storm of the engagement, having said first these words, "To-morrow there will be no enemy;" and accordingly in the morning there was none: the khan had been alarmed by intelligence of the near approach of fresh Russian troops to the capital, and had fled, leaving behind him a rich spoil.

CHAP. VI.

On the spot where the chapel tent of St. Sergius had stood with the miraculous Icon, a monastery was founded by the zeal of the Tsar, in the name of Our Lady of the Don, the chosen conductress of our armies on that day of victory; and the Tsar liberally rewarded his officers, and especially their commander Boris, with a gold medal and collar.

But the danger was scarcely over when the popular rumours about the death of the Tsarevich Demetrius were again revived. They said that Godounoff had been the cause of the fires; that Godounoff had invited the khan to invade Russia, in order to smother the memory of Demetrius; that when a son had in reality been born to Theodore, Godounoff had concealed it and substituted a daughter, the same child whose birth was signalized by the sending of rich presents to the four patriarchal thrones, and whose early death was a cause of bitter lamentation to her inconsolable parents. These rumours of suspicion and hatred, which were continually renewed at every opportunity, pursued Boris throughout the whole reign of Theodore, until they grew up under his own government to the full measure of their stature, in the form of a man, who by the mere fact of his personal resemblance to Demetrius overturned his throne.

In the mean time in South Russia the exertions of the wily Jesuit Possevin, who was disappointed by John as to the reception of the Florentine Council, obtained the success he desired for them under the protection of Sigismund. The oppressions of the nobles, who, in spite of the Statute of Lithuania granted by him at his coronation, violently appropriated to themselves the property of the orthodox clergy, compelled the Metropolitan Onesiphorus, a most zealous pastor, to beg for new privileges from the king, for the protection of his Church. Already in the tenth year of his episcopate under Stephen Batori, he had found great difficulty in resisting the introduction of the new Gregorian Calendar, which had been prohibited by a circular letter of the Patriarch Jeremiah [12]. On the one hand incessant persecutions and influences both secret and open to desert orthodoxy, on the other the weakness of

their defences, and the desperate struggle they had to maintain for their fundamental rights, had produced a relaxation of morals among the clergy, and irregularities in the election of their bishops. The metropolitan himself, though otherwise a man of irreproachable life, had been twice married, which was contrary to the canons; and the same was the case with Cyrill Terletsky, bishop of Loutsk, the first author of the Unia.

The Patriarch Jeremiah, when he visited for the first time this part of his flock, could not look with indifference on such disorders; by his own act and authority he degraded Onesiphorus, and consecrated in his room Michael Ragoza, who was presented to him in Wilna by the Lithuanian nobles, with reluctance, according to the testimony of the annalists, as if he had had some presentiment of his apostacy. Unfortunately, the double marriage and the vicious life of the bishop of Loutsk were unknown as yet to the patriarch, who was deceived by his pretended zeal; Jeremiah deprived, however, Timothy, the guilty archimandrite of Souprasylsk, and when he departed for Moscow gave it in charge to the metropolitan to convoke a synod in his absence for the reformation of the Church. Sensible of the necessity of learning, the Patriarch Jeremiah who had already established one Stauropegia in the monastery of the Assumption in the town of Lvoff, now in like manner took under his own special protection the School of the Fraternity of the Holy Spirit in Wilna, making it also into a Stauropegia, and regulating it upon the same model; and on his return he gave his blessing to the institution of the Brotherhood of the Epiphany in Kieff, since converted into the Spiritual Academy, as he saw what a superiority the well-trained zealots of the Western Church, the Jesuits, had over the orthodox. Arsenius, archbishop of Elasson, who accompanied him to Moscow, together with the metropolitan of Monembasia, and remained there and accepted the diocese of Souzdal, probably for some similar reason, was taken by Jeremiah from being rector of his seminary at Lvoff, that he might be of use in diffusing a spirit of learning and improvement in those districts through which he had to travel.

CHAP. VI.

But after a residence of a year in the capital of Russia, the patriarch on his return to Wilna did not find that any synod had met as he desired, and having Church business which made it necessary for him to go on further, he determined to wait for its assembling, first in Zamost, and then again in Wallachia, although by so doing he lost much valuable time, and was obliged to incur heavy expenses, which his impoverished see could ill afford. But Jeremiah's waiting was to no purpose. Too many exposures and convictions would have followed upon the meeting of a council, and the timid metropolitan Ragoza dreaded the consequences. In the mean time a report of the immoral life of the bishop of Loutsk had at length reached Jeremiah; and he sent from Zamost, Gregory, a monk in priest's orders, with a letter to the metropolitan, in order that he might be proceeded against and punished; but the Bishop Cyrill gave orders that this letter should be intercepted and taken away from the messenger by force on the passage through his diocese; and he himself was so daring as to go straight to the patriarch to justify himself, taking with him Gideon Boloban, bishop of Lvoff, whose zeal for orthodoxy was well known, and he succeeded once more in deceiving the pontiff by his hypocritical assurances; as a proof of his devotion, he even conducted him on his way, together with Gideon, as far as to the frontiers of Wallachia.

But the violence which Cyrill had used towards the patriarchal envoy could not remain long concealed. Fresh reports were raised, and Meletius Bogourinsky, bishop of Vladimir [13], again accused Cyrill to the patriarch. Then Jeremiah intrusted to Meletius letters authorizing him to call a synod, and commissioned the Archimandrite Dionysius to act in it as exarch from himself, as he no longer looked for any thing from the metropolitan; and he demanded from this latter, as a sort of punishment for having screened the guilty, the payment of those expenses which he had been obliged to incur during his fruitless delay at Zamost. The crafty Cyrill Terletsky knew well how to turn to his advantage this circum-

stance, small as it was; foreseeing his own condemnation in the council, he so wrought upon the metropolitan by his well-feigned indignation, as to prevent his fulfilling the wishes of the patriarch; while he contrived, during a friendly visit to Meletius, to steal from among his papers the patriarchal letter of commission; and upon his death, which followed shortly after, he persuaded Ragoza to consecrate to the see of Vladimir Ignatius Potsi, whom he had himself not long before admitted to the monastic tonsure as a convert, from having been one of the Castellans[14] or Roman priests at Brest, as a fit tool of his traitorous designs, knowing that Ignatius had already once before apostatized from orthodoxy.

These two men became the chief promoters of the Unia, and strove by all possible means to bring into it the rest of the orthodox bishops, at the two local diets of Brest-Litofsky and Lvoff; but they met with strenuous opposers in Gideon Balaban of Lvoff, and Michael Copistensky of the city of Peremuishla, and in Nicephorus Toura, the eloquent archimandrite of the Pecherskay Lavra at Kieff. However, as they scrupled at no means for the attainment of their end, they fraudulently obtained the signatures of both the bishops to a parchment, upon which they pretended they were going to write a petition to the king for new privileges and securities to the orthodox Church; and then, instead of this, they wrote, as in the name of a synod, a request to him and to the pope for a union with the Church of Rome.

In the mean time the Patriarch Jeremiah, having heard of the agitation that was going on in the Church of Little Russia, sent round a circular letter by another exarch, whose name was Nicephorus, threatening the metropolitan and the bishops, in the event of their apostacy, with deprival. But the king, Sigismund, bade them rely upon his protection, and promised that the excommunication of the patriarch should never take effect in his dominions. The death of the Most Holy Jeremiah, which followed shortly after, depriving the Church of her experienced governor, and the rapid changes of his successors, of whom no less than three followed each other

CHAP. VI.

in the short space of two years, told very much in favour of the Unia, although the wise and learned patriarch of Alexandria, Meletius Pega, who after them was administrator of the see of Constantinople, sent fresh circulars for the maintenance of orthodoxy, by his exarch Cyrill Lucar, who afterwards became patriarch of Constantinople. Neither were the two zealous pastors Gideon and Michael of Peremuishla silent, nor the archimandrite of the Pechersky; in concert with these was the venerable Prince Constantine of Ostrog, voivode of Kieff, now a hundred years old, and long celebrated for his love of learning. While John the Terrible was yet on the throne of Russia, the orthodox Church had been indebted to him for an edition of the first printed Bible, and of other sacred books, in the Slavonian language, and for the establishment of flourishing schools in Ostrog and Kieff. He sent about the patriarchal letters in every direction, and protected the exarchs of the orthodox from the persecutions of the king, who did not venture to interfere with him.

Notwithstanding this opposition, Ignatius succeeded in assembling a council in his own diocese; it being more easy for him to incline the feeble metropolitan to his side in the frontier town of Brest-Litofsky, than it would have been in Kieff, the capital of orthodoxy, or Wilna, or Novogrodok, his usual residences. Besides the metropolitan Ignatius, and Cyrill, there were present also on the part of the orthodox, Nathaniel of Polotsk, Gideon of Lvoff, and Dionysius of Kholm, with many archimandrites and hegumens; while on the part of the Romans, there was the primate of the kingdom, the archbishop of Gneznen, with four other bishops. Ignatius opened the council with a speech persuading them to a union with the Western Church; and, after many discussions, the metropolitan was gained, and he, with four other bishops who had apostatized from orthodoxy, Ignatius, Cyrill, Leontius, and Dionysius, signed a synodal letter for a union, on the terms of the council of Florence, but with a reservation in favour of all the discipline and ceremonies of the Eastern Church.

Death preserved Nathaniel of Polotsk from signing so disgraceful an act; but Gideon and Michael strenuously protested against it, and were responded to both by the clergy and the people. Nevertheless Ignatius and Cyrill, by the exertions of King Sigismund, were sent as if they were the representatives of the whole Russian Church, to the Roman pontiff, to testify before him their submission: and Clement VIII. returned public thanksgivings for the successful completion of this long-desired union. But in the mean time, before the return of these envoys, Gideon and Michael, having learned the wicked use made of their signatures, proclaimed to all the world the knavery of the proceeding; while the prince of Ostrog loudly exclaimed against the apostacy of Brest, where five bishops had taken upon themselves to betray the cause of the whole orthodox Church. The general excitement which prevailed on account of the ancient doctrines of the faith, at the time when the diet of the kingdom was about to assemble, made it absolutely necessary for both parties that a fresh council should be called, which might determine more clearly the actual position of the Church, and shew who were her true pastors, and who adversaries; and accordingly in the same town of Brest-Litofsky there met a second council much more numerously attended than the first. On this occasion there came not only the orthodox clergy who had their rights to defend, but the aged Prince Constantine of Ostrog also, with the prime of the nobility; while there appeared on the other side, in the name of the king, Radzivil, hetman[15] of Lithuania, with the primate and the voivodes.

The two exarchs of the patriarch, Nicephorus and Cyrill Lucar, Luke, metropolitan of Belgrad, and the bishops Gideon and Michael, Nicephorus the archimandrite of the Peckersky, and other members of the clergy, were the representatives of their Church at the council of Brest. Seeing the weakness of the Metropolitan Michael, who only the day before had signed his definitive consent to the Unia, and the vexations to which they were subjected by their opponents, who had refused to recognise Nicephorus as exarch from the patri- 1596.

CHAP. VI.

arch, they solemnly assembled in a private house, because they could not obtain the use of a Church; there, together with all the orthodox, both clergy and laity, after they had twice in vain summoned the metropolitan, they delivered him over to an anathema as an apostate from orthodoxy, together with the bishops who had also fallen away. On the other hand, the conventicle of the Uniates and the Romans, after having solemnly confirmed their first agreement for a union, which was sealed by the joint celebration of the liturgy in the same church, pronounced a similar sentence of excommunication against the orthodox; and thus the Church of Little Russia was divided into the Orthodox and the Uniate, both preserving, however, the same form, not only of external rite in the celebration of Divine Service, but even of doctrine; for Rome at first allowed the Creed[16] without alteration, and required nothing but the one capital point of submission to the pope.

From this time began the hard and long-continued struggle of orthodoxy against the Unia in all the Polish and Lithuanian provinces, and the persecutions of the Western Church, and more particularly of the civil government, against those who refused to betray the faith of their ancestors. Contrary to all former fundamental statutes, they were deprived of their civil rights, which had ever been equally enjoyed by both Confessions. These persecutions were so severe, that three years after the council of Brest the orthodox senators and noblemen were compelled to join, with other members of the highest, and also of the inferior orders in the kingdom, of the Protestant confession, so far as by a public act at the conference of Wilna to engage themselves to afford each other mutual succour and protection at the diets, and in the courts of justice, before the face of the king. Other defenders also appeared, armed with the sword instead of law; the free Cossacks of the Zaporojsky horde, or horde beyond the Falls[17], who, under the command of their atamans, had already more than once struck terror into Poland. The late king, Stephen Batori, had conferred

on them legal privileges, and had recognised their ataman; but the danger of being deprived of the free profession of the orthodox faith, which had been made the first and indispensable condition of the agreement on the part of the horde, provoked them to rebel against Sigismund, and for a time deprived them of all the privileges which had been granted them by the crown, when their brave ataman, Nalivaiko, who had inflicted such losses on the Polish armies, was himself defeated by the Polish Hetman Jolkefsky, and burned alive. They, however, soon recovered themselves under the command of a new captain, whose name was Sagaidachny. CHAP. VI.

Another war also broke forth of bitter controversies and reproaches between the clergy of the two contending parties, and, till death closed the lips of the champions of the Church, Gideon, Michael Toura, and the prince of Ostrog himself, they exerted themselves to the utmost, both by speech and writing, though all they could do was weak in comparison with the overpowering violence of the Unia. The bishops, who were selected from the most devoted partizans of Rome, had not only every facility of recommending their party by preaching, but were able also to use active measures by the aid of the civil government, and thus, in the course of a few years, perverted as many as four millions of people in their dioceses.

The Metropolitan Ragoza took away from the orthodox in Kieff the ancient cathedral of St. Sophia, which, however, did not long remain in the hands of the Uniates; but he failed in his attempt to get possession of the Pecher-kay Lavra, which was defended by the prayers of its founders St. Anthony and St. Theodosius. He himself did not dare any longer, after his apostacy, to reside either in Kieff or Wilna; the place which he chose for his permanent residence was Novogrodok, and there he remained, without ever ceasing, to the end of his life, to doubt and fluctuate, writing letters, with assurances of his orthodoxy, to the prince of Ostrog, and to the Russian ambassadors, when they passed by on their way into

CHAP. VI.

Poland. Hypatius, bishop of Vladimir, being chosen after his death to be metropolitan in his room, maintained and strengthened the Unia by planting Dominican convents over the whole of his ecclesiastical province, and by violently taking from the orthodox monasteries a great part of their possessions, beginning with Kieff. He obtained a royal edict forbidding the reception of orthodox scholars into the schools, and at the same time allowed none to be ordained anywhere without having been educated in them. The decisive measures which he took to promote the Unia were greatly assisted by Pope Clement VIII., who twice sent his legate, the Abbati Comouleio, to the Tsar Theodore, under the pretext of inviting his co-operation in a general crusade, but really with the same end in view for which the Jesuit Anthony Possevin had formerly come into Russia.

But in the mean time, one after another, all the champions of orthodoxy departed to their rest, without leaving any to supply their places. First of all died Constantine, prince of Ostrog, at the age of one hundred years, having had his life prolonged to nearly twice the ordinary span, as if on purpose that he might support the Church in her distresses, till the approach of better times; and almost together with him went her watchful pastor Gideon, bishop of Lvoff. All the family of the first, except one son, the Voivode Basil, fell away to the Unia; the flock of the latter remained long without a head, till at length the metropolitan of Wallachia appointed in his place a bishop, whose name was Joseph. Before long, the last zealous defender of the Church, Michael, bishop of Peremuishla, also departed; and the orthodox, having no longer any bishops, were all obliged to have recourse for the ordination of their priests, and for the holy chrism, to the distant town of Lvoff, to the Bishop Joseph, who was now the only one left in all the south-west of Russia. The audacity of the Metropolitan Hypatius rose in proportion to the losses of the others; he continued, even at the risk of his life, to take the ancient convents from the orthodox, and give them up to the Uniates, and at Wilna he

all but fell a sacrifice to the fury of the people, on account of his having violently taken possession of the monastery and cathedral of the Trinity. Contrary to the canons of the Church, he during his own life nominated as his successor his favourite Joseph, who still further strengthened the Unia, by establishing a Congregation of Schools, and a superior seminary over them. To counteract him by the same means as he employed against them, some of the orthodox nobles endeavoured on their side also to set on foot similar fraternities of schoolmasters, and made sacrifices of their property for this purpose.

In this wretched and forlorn condition did the Church of Little Russia remain for the space of more than twenty years, without either metropolitan or bishops, till the coming of Theophanes, patriarch of Jerusalem, torn and agitated by the Unia, and trampled under foot by Rome. And these troubles and sufferings of the sister Church were to be bitterly felt by the Church of Russia itself, when, from the same poisonous nest, from the same fatal elements, the terrible pretender arose, formed by the skilful hand of the Jesuits, and burst with the same storm upon Russia.

But Theodore[18] had now closed his eyes for ever, and was spared by Providence the sight of the miseries that were approaching. In his person the race of Rurik, after six centuries, bade its final adieu to Russia, shedding upon her its last benefits before a separation for ever. The end of the pious Tsar was happy; a holy man appeared to him as if in the act of meeting him at the gates of heaven. The royal house of Moscow was left tenantless by his departure. His disconsolate widow, Irene, who was unanimously acknowledged as the reigning Tsaritsa, quitted the throne, and received the tonsure in the Novodaëvichy convent; notwithstanding this, however, all forms continued to run, and all public business to be transacted, in her new name Alexandra[19], as there was no other head to the kingdom. The patriarch only watched over its tranquillity, and convoked the councils, first that of the boyars, and then that of the provinces, for the

1598.

CHAP. VI.

election of a Tsar. Two persons drew upon themselves the general attention, on account of their family connection with the deceased; his cousin german on the side of his mother Anastasia, the Boyar Theodore Niketich Romanoff[20]; and his brother-in-law on the side of his consort Irene, Boris Godounoff.

But Russia, in the course of the fourteen years of Theodore's reign, had already become used to the government of Boris; and alarmed at her own state of orphanage, which was new to her, in being left without a head, she chose him at the suggestion of the Patriarch Job and the boyars of the Privy Council. For a long time Boris refused the crown, and even concealed himself in the cell of the Tsaritsa his sister. The patriarch went in procession with the Cross, accompanied by all his clergy, and with great difficulty persuaded him to accept of it, for the sake of the Icon of our Lady[21] of Vladimir, which they had brought to him to the convent. He then publicly crowned him in the cathedral of the Assumption with the crown of Monomachus[22]. It seemed as if all was likely to go well with the new Tsar, who was learned, and experienced in the business of government, respected both within and without the empire, the very appearance of whose camp in the field of itself struck with a panic the ambassadors of the khan of the Crimea, on the banks of the Oka, and with whom the emperor, the queen of England, and the shah of Persia, besides his nearer neighbours, all entertained friendly relations. His royal court was distinguished for unusual splendour, while his more private apartments[23] were graced with a flourishing family, consisting of his son Theodore and his daughter Xenia, the object of his tenderest affections, for whom he strove to realize the splendid prospect of two crowns, that of Russia for Theodore, and that of Denmark for Xenia, by marrying her to the king's son. He had no reason to doubt but that his children would succeed to the undoubted inheritance of the throne, according to the regular order of succession; yet the boyars who stood next, and the Romanoffs, as being related to Theodore, excited the suspicion of Go-

dounoff. They were falsely accused of a plot against the life of the Tsar, and, like the Naghi, the uncles of the young Prince Demetrius, five brothers of the Romanoffs were sent to different distant prisons, where four of them died. The eldest, Theodore, and his wife Maria, were compelled to receive the tonsure, the one under the name of Philaret, in a small religious house at Sieskay, the other under the name of Martha, in the convent of Zaonege; while their young son Michael, destined one day to be Tsar, shared the confinement of his uncle, the prince of Cherkask, at Bielo-ozero.

Soon after this a dreadful famine raged throughout the whole of Russia, which Boris in vain attempted to alleviate, though he did all that prudence could suggest, both in distributing relief, and engaging the people with employment on public works. The belfry tower, called after John the Great, which he caused to be erected at this time in the capital, remained a monument of the cares of the Tsar. From the famine arose pestilential diseases, together with a spirit of robbery and licentiousness throughout all the empire. This was only the beginning of those calamities, which neither the earnest prayers nor the liberal oblations and alms of Boris, the most magnificent of all our sovereigns in his gifts, could avoid. Fearful signs forewarned men, as it were, of the impending troubles: but before they came, the Tsaritsa and nun, Alexandra, had closed her eyes, like her mild consort Theodore, in peace; and Boris was left alone to drink the cup of bitterness to the dregs.

At this distressing time a report was spread about Russia that the Prince Demetrius, the son of John, the youth whom she had so long lamented, was still living, and had shewed himself in Poland. Boris, alarmed by this report, began to make enquiry as to the time of his appearance and the person of the pretender himself; and even sent, that the matter might be cleared up, for the mother of the prince to come from her confinement at Bielo-ozero to the capital. It appeared that a certain Gregory Otrepieff, one of the "Sons of the boyars" who had originally been in the service of the Romanoffs,

CHAP. VI.

a bold youth, who had received some education, had become a monk in Souzdal, and had passed from thence into the Choudoff monastery, where the Patriarch Job ordained him deacon, and employed him in copying the canons, in spite of the caution given him by the metropolitan of Rostoff, Jonah, who foresaw in the worthless young monk an instrument of the devil. At the courts of the patriarch and the Tsar, Gregory heard of the unhappy end of the prince, and of the accidental resemblance which his own person bore to that of Demetrius, and by way of an impudent joke swore that he would be Tsar in Moscow. This insolent speech reached the Tsar, and the monk was already destined to expiate his offence in the island of Solovetsky, when Otrepieff, learning what was to be his sentence from a secretary who was his relation, secretly made off, with two other monks, to Novogorod-Seversk, passing from one monastery to another. At Poutivla he for the first time insinuated to the archimandrite his own lofty descent. Having been received in Kieff by the son of the illustrious Prince Constantine of Ostrog, he lost himself by the open profligacy of his life, fled to the Cossacks of the horde beyond the Falls, and took part with them in their distant expeditions; he afterwards learned to read and write the Latin and Polish languages in a school in Volhynia, and entered into the service of a rich nobleman, the Prince Adam Vishnevetsky, where, during a feigned sickness, he discovered himself to his confessor, and persuaded the credulous prince of his royal birth.

Such an account of the runaway monk Otrepieff was circulated from the capital at the first report of the appearance of the pretended Demetrius; and a synod assembled, which at once anathematized him, and decreed a Perpetual Memory[24] in the church to the blessed youth whose person he counterfeited. Besides this, the uncle of Otrepieff, whose name was Smirnoy, was sent into Poland, to unmask his nephew at the court of Sigismund, whither the pretender had already made his way, through the countenance of the prince Vishnevetsky, who had taken him up as if he were really the son of

John, and had been saved, as he gave out, from Ouglich by the fidelity of a physician. He was supported by the Jesuits, and by the papal Nuncio Rangoni, who selected him as their instrument for the subjugation of Russia, and influenced the king's mind in his favour. In the midst of the severe struggle between the Unia and Orthodoxy, which then agitated Lithuania and Volhynia, nothing could have been more opportune for Rome than the appearance of such a person, who might be able by his imposture to shake orthodoxy at its very centre, in the capital of Russia: every expedient seemed lawful for such an end. Sigismund, though he had acknowledged the false Demetrius, was yet undecided to break the truce with Russia; and went no further than to give his nobles permission to assist the pretended Tsarevich if they pleased.

The first to take up arms was Mnishek, voivode of Sendomir, to whose proud daughter, Marina, the pretender had promised his hand and the throne of Moscow. Before long there joined him bands of deserters from the Ukraine, and the Cossacks of the Don, who were persuaded by a single traitor that he was really the prince. The district of Seversk rose in his favour. Boris, in amazement, hesitated, and lost time in sending about letters from the patriarch in council to Kieff and into Lithuania, for the purpose of undeceiving the voivodes, the clergy, and the people; at last he despatched an army, to which the brave defence of Novogorod Seversk by the Voivode Basmanoff rendered material assistance. Twice the pretender was defeated; twice he re-appeared with fresh forces, and now in the district of Orloff; and in the mean time he was gaining more and more on the favour of the people, when death suddenly struck Boris in the act of rising from table in the palace; he scarcely lived long enough to receive the monastic habit, with the name of Bogolep, and to commit his young son Theodore to the care of the patriarch[25]. With him the greatness of his house was at an end.

The boyars took the oath of allegiance to the new Tsar, but it did not bind them long. The warlike Basmanoff, who had been chosen to the command of the royal army, de-

CHAP. VI.

livered it up to the pretended Demetrius. This act of treason was followed and imitated by many of the first nobles of Russia. Terror took possession of the capital: letters from the pretender were read aloud in the public place[26]: in vain the Boyars Shouesky and Mistislafsky, by advice of the patriarch, went out from the Kremlin to try to undeceive the people. The insurgent mob rushed into the Kremlin, and led out the young Tsar with his mother and sister from the palace to that same private mansion of Boris, from whence he had gone forth with so much magnificence to mount the throne. Those of the boyars who were partizans of the pretender, publicly swore allegiance to him, and were in vain denounced by the patriarch Job in the cathedral of the Assumption. While he was in the act of celebrating the liturgy, a band of miscreants broke into the church, and tore from him his pontifical robes. He then himself took the Panagia from his own neck, and placed it on the image of our Lady, and with a firm voice pronounced these words: "Here, before this sacred Icon, was I consecrated to my office, and for nineteen years have I preserved the purity of faith; I now see that misery is coming upon the kingdom, that fraud and heresy are to triumph. Oh, mother of God, do thou preserve orthodoxy!" They then put on him a common black gown, treated him with every kind of contumely in the public square, and drew him on a cart to the Staritsky monastery, to which he had formerly belonged. The young Tsar and his unhappy mother were smothered by murderers like those who had been employed to make away with Demetrius; for the Lord sometimes visits the sins of the fathers on the children.

The pretended Demetrius advanced in triumph to Moscow; the dignitaries of the kingdom went out to meet him to Toula, and even there were already forced to see his preference for foreigners. His chief counsellor was a Jesuit. The people of the capital joyfully welcomed the supposed son of John, restored to them as it were from the dead, from attachment to the ancient race of their Tsars, and as soon cooled

again when they saw the baseness and licentiousness of the Poles who surrounded him, and the disrespect evinced for all that they held sacred by the Tsar himself, who trampled under foot the traditions of their fathers. No time was lost in proceeding to the election of a new patriarch in the room of Job, who was shut up in confinement. The pretender was afraid of the Russian bishops, and selected a Greek named Ignatius, then archbishop of Riazan, and formerly of Cyprus, who had come to Russia with the patriarch of Antioch, and had remained there and made it his adopted country, as Arsenius of Elasson had also done. However, that the order of the Church might not be openly violated, the pretended Demetrius sent his patriarch elect to Starits, to ask the blessing of the aged Job. But that prelate, firm in the midst of his persecutions, and knowing the leaning of Ignatius towards the customs of Rome, absolutely refused him his benediction, and notwithstanding the menaces used to shake him, called him "a pastor worthy of his *Ataman*." In spite of this Ignatius was consecrated. For the greater evidence of his pretended descent from John, he recalled and set at liberty those of the Naghi and Romanoffs who were yet alive, the monk Philaret, the nun Martha, and their son the youth Michael. By the will of Providence, which uses unworthy as well as worthy instruments for good, the pretended Demetrius was made the means of the elevation of Philaret Niketich, who was consecrated to be metropolitan of Rostoff. Other illustrious exiles also were brought back, both living, and dead; the coffins of the Naghi and those of the Romanoffs were transported with honour to Moscow; while the coffin of Boris, on the contrary, was ignominiously ejected from the cathedral of the Archangel, and put away under ground in the Barsonophieff monastery, till it should be interred for the third and last time in the Trinity Lavra, during the reign of Shouesky.

The unfortunate Tsar Simeon also, son of Bekboulat, of the Kazan family, who had received the title of Great Prince of Tver from John the Terrible, and had been banished

CHAP. VI.

to his province, and had had his eyes put out in the time of Theodore, now profited for a short time by the grace of the Tsar, but only to end with being again confined in the monasteries of Solovetsky and Bielo-ozero, where he terminated, in the habit of a monk, his singular and troubled course. The Nun Martha herself, the Tsaritsa, and mother of the true Demetrius, was a second time sent for from the lone convent of Bielo-ozero by her pretended son, and was obliged to testify, by her silent recognition and acceptance of the attentions of the Tsar, to the truth of his person. Apartments were prepared for her in the Kremlin, in the monastery of the Ascension, where she also received as her daughter the proud bride of the pretender. Marina arrived from Poland, with her father the voivode, surrounded by extraordinary pomp and magnificence, to the infinite disgust of the people, who were scandalized at the immodesty of western manners, and at the misplaced prodigality of the Tsar, who gave away whole provinces to her and to his father-in-law Mnishek. Two stout prelates, Hermogenes, metropolitan of Kazan, and Joseph, bishop of Colomna, had the courage to demand that the new Tsaritsa should be baptized, and renounce the Roman doctrines, previously to her marriage; they were sent in consequence in disgrace to the monasteries of their respective dioceses. The marriage and coronation were celebrated at the same time. The pretended Demetrius, who had even before given permission both to Roman priests and to Lutheran pastors to perform their different services in the Kremlin, now began entirely and openly to contemn the orthodox religion, holding correspondence with the pope, who engaged him to make a union between the Churches, and maintaining the closest relations with his Nuncio Rangoni and the Jesuits. A crusade for the recovery of Constantinople was the favourite dream of the warlike pretender. In the mean time, as the violence of the Poles increased, the patience of the people was exhausted. Murmurs and accusations became more and more audible; one of the royal secretaries was not afraid to call the pre-

tended Demetrius, Otrepieff, before his own face, and paid with his life for his noble boldness, together with others who risked their lives for truth. Among these appeared the courtier Shouesky, who had in past time dissembled to please Godounoff, and had borne false witness concerning the murder of the true Demetrius, but was now bold enough to speak the truth of the pretender. The intercession of the queen-mother with difficulty prevailed to save him from suffering death when he was already at the place of execution, but he became in consequence the object of the people's affection. The careless pretender, forgetting amid his wedding-festivities all measures of precaution, soon recalled him from banishment, and Shouesky then held meetings in his house with the boyars, the citizens, and the military, for the expulsion of the usurper.

All night Moscow was in a state of agitation; just as it was beginning to dawn the tocsin was sounded, and troops of armed men, led on by Shouesky, poured into the Kremlin to the royal palace. None defended the pretender but his body-guards, who were foreigners; he threw himself out of a window into the court of the Granary-yard, where had been the former house of the Tsar Boris, and was taken up by the Streltsi with one of his legs broken. Once more the testimony of the mother was demanded to certify them as to the truth of his pretensions; and at that moment of his fate, Martha, who had been called out of her cell, declared that she did not acknowledge him to be her son.

They then began to examine the pretender himself, when two shots struck him dead in the midst of their enquiries. The boyars only just succeeded in saving the lives of his consort Marina, her father, and the Polish ambassadors: of the other Poles few escaped the fury of the populace. Shouesky with difficulty appeased the tumult; the body of the pretender was burned, and his ashes scattered to the winds. The next day after the insurrection, the Council of the Boyars, and the people, unanimously elected as their Tsar the Prince Basil Shouesky, the author of their deliverance, who

CHAP. VI. 1606.

was also the senior of all the princely families of the line of Rurik. The metropolitans and bishops blessed him to the kingdom, and at the same time they shut up in the Choudoff monastery the intrusive Patriarch Ignatius, who had blessed the pretender. The first thing which the new Tsar did was to desire the election of a patriarch, that the Church of Russia might not be left any longer without a pastor. Job, aged and infirm, had become blind from misfortunes and persecutions. By the general voice of the Ecclesiastical synod, they elected Hermogenes, the noble-minded metropolitan of Kazan, who had been a confessor during the days of the false Demetrius, and became afterwards a martyr for the faith and for his country during the vacancy of the throne: for the dreadful storm that had been raised by the pretender was not stilled by his overthrow: the preservation of the life of Marina, and of the ambassadors and some of the nobles of Sigismund, did not satisfy Poland, which wished to take advantage of the misfortunes of Russia, and to crush her power and the orthodox faith at once.

CHAP. VII.

THE PATRIARCHS.

II. HERMOGENES.

Nor was the tempest at an end either in the interior of the kingdom: it was enough to have once excited and agitated men's minds by a name dear to the hearts of the people, to cause the continual appearance of new pretenders and new traitors, with whom Basil in vain contended during the four years of his reign. It seemed as if Russia would not trust him, out of punishment for his first falsehood over the coffin of her prince. That very coffin, with the incorruptible remains of the blessed youth, Shouesky decided to remove to the capital, for the more complete satisfaction of the country, on which his letters had produced but little effect, even though accompanied by those of the Tsaritsa Martha. He sent Philaret metropolitan of Rostoff, the relative of Demetrius, together with Theodosius archbishop of Astrachan, for the holy relics to Ouglich, and himself took on his shoulders this royal burden to lower it into the tomb, which had been in past time prepared in the cathedral of the Archangel for the ashes of Boris. But a great number of miracles and healings being wrought at the coffin of the prince, the interment was never completed; it was placed in the middle of the church, to receive the pious honour of the faithful; and in the presence of the uncorrupted form of her son, the Tsaritsa his mother yet once more asked and received absolution from the patriarch Hermogenes for her unwilling falsehoods. Another great absolver and sufferer was called from the depths of his cell, where he had now grown blind, but still lingered on to mourn over the vanity of the world, Job, late patriarch of

CHAP. VII.

Moscow. On the brink of the grave, and only a few days before his death, he was moved by the prayers of the Tsar and the patriarch, to quit his convent of Starits, and come into the capital to absolve the inhabitants of Moscow, and the whole land of Russia, of their treason to the son of Boris, and of their oath of allegiance to the pretender. A touching spectacle was exhibited in the cathedral of the Assumption. Blind, and habited in the simple black gown of a monk, Job stood in the place of the patriarchs, side by side with Hermogenes, and listened to the profession of national repentance expressed in a letter of the Tsar, which was read to him aloud from the ambon. He himself in his turn read a letter of pardon to the people, and absolved them, as having been their patriarch, enumerating withal the calamities of his country, and his own personal sufferings in that same cathedral, where he then stood as a stranger come from another world, where there is neither trouble nor care, looking with calm compassion on the manifold strife and agitation of this. And as no testament is of force till after the death of the testator, Job almost as soon as he had returned to the monastery at Starits, died.

The standard of revolt was first raised in the South, by Shachofskoy, under the name of Demetrius, before any fresh pretender had yet been found by the family of Mnishek, while Marina and her father were still at Yaroslavla. Bolotnikoff, and Lapounoff, the military commander at Riazan, joined themselves to him, but the latter having discovered the fraud of his associates, left them in disgust. The district of Seversk was again in a state of revolt, and there appeared among the Cossacks of the Don yet another impostor, who called himself Peter, and pretended to be the son of the Tsar Theodore. Basil's commanders fled; Toula, and Kalouga, fell into the hands of the insurgents, who were so daring as to advance upon the capital, but were defeated in their turn under its walls by the troops of the Tsar. They also fell upon the ungarrisoned city of Tver; but their spirited archbishop, Theoctistus, encouraged the citizens, and beat off the enemy.

The sovereign himself was obliged to take the field, and after a long siege, succeeded in crushing the rebellion in the bud by the capture of Toula. But, notwithstanding the imprisonment or execution of the authors of the rebellion, Kalouga still remained in the hands of another band.

In the mean time, by the exertions of the insurgents, there was at length found among the lower classes of the people a man who assumed the character of Demetrius, appeared in the province of Seversk, and again collected about him a band of robbers, the wild volunteers of the Don, and the Shlachti or petty nobility of Poland. The confederates again[1] united themselves around him, as did also the nobles of Lithuania, the Prince Rojinsky, the Hetman Sapiega, and the partizan chieftain Lisofsky; they advanced towards the capital, which was all in confusion, and established themselves for a year and a half, at the distance of twelve versts from it, in the village of Toushine. Basil pitched his camp in the suburbs, and sent his nephew, the young Voivode Prince Michael Skopin, who had already distinguished himself by gaining several victories, to ask for assistance from the Swedes, as the situation of Russia was desperate. Treason manifested itself within the walls of Moscow; deserters from among the nobles coolly passed over from the Tsar to the pretender, who was known as the Robber of Toushine. The ambitious Marina joined herself to him, as soon as through the intercession of Sigismund she had been imprudently liberated from her imprisonment at Yaroslavla. The towns of Russia surrendered one after the other to Lisofsky and other Atamans, and few remained faithful to Basil. Hills of graves, to use the expression of the chronicles, rose up over all the land of Russia, which was torn to pieces on all sides by anarchy and rapine. It seemed as if the whole empire, which had been ages in forming, was suddenly dissolved, in spite of the exertions of the brave pastors of the Church, who held firmly by the throne, and suffered together with their flocks.

Already had the courageous Archbishop Theoctistus been taken prisoner at the capture of Tver, and slain on the road

CHAP. VII.

in making an attempt to escape and to avoid confinement at Toushine; Gennadius of Pskoff did not survive the treason of his city; Gelaktion of Souzdal died in exile, because he refused to give his blessing to the pretender; Joseph, bishop of Colomna, who had already been an opponent of the first pretender, was seized by the soldiers of the second, whom he was in vain endeavouring to bring to reason, and was dragged after them bound to a gun. The period of his trials had not yet terminated either for the future head of the Church, Philaret Romanoff, metropolitan of Rostoff. In the ancient church of the Assumption, the cathedral of his diocese, he entered as a martyr upon that ten years course of suffering, from which he came out as patriarch, after his son had been placed upon the throne. The traitors of Pereyaslavla suddenly attacked Rostoff, the citizens of which fled to the fortified town of Yaroslavla; but Philaret, as the good shepherd who lays down his life for the flock, refused absolutely to listen to them, when they besought him to seek safety in flight. He shut himself up in the cathedral, celebrated the liturgy, gave the communion to the people, and quietly awaited his fate. The rebels tumultuously besieged the doors: still the metropolitan did not cease from preaching until they burst into the church by violence, tore from him his episcopal robes, and dragged him, half dead, in his shirt, in the midst of their derision, to experience fresh insults at Toushine. There he was to endure the sight of the pretended Demetrius, and to witness his mock court and royalty, and did not recover his liberty till after the flight of the Robber of Toushine, when he was rescued by a detachment of Shouesky's troops from the hands of the enemy, under the walls of the convent of St. Joseph of Volokolamsk.

In its turn the Trinity Lavra, to which from its situation none of the calamities of the capital could be indifferent, distinguished itself by the valour of its monks. After consultation held between the pretender and his confederates, Sapiega, hetman of Lithuania, and Lisofsky undertook the siege of this monastic fortress, in order to cut off the commu-

nication of the Tsar Basil with his northern and eastern provinces. The Archimandrite Joasaph, and the Voivodes Prince Dolgorouky and Golochvastoff, quitted themselves like men both in words and deeds, against treacherous negotiation and fierce assaults, and by the aid of the venerable Sergius, they supported for sixteen months a close siege; although 30,000 men of the enemy had placed gabions and surrounded their precinct with intrenchments, from which they kept up a constant fire of sixty pieces of artillery upon the walls and the churches. Desperate and fierce were the attacks by storming parties, and no less murderous the sallies of the besieged: about all the neighbourhood of the Lavra, in the woods, by the moats, and in the ravines, the work of slaughter was carried on with fury; the monks and the country peasants of the villages belonging to the monastery acquitted themselves as well as the bravest regular troops; mines were carried under the towers, but they were met underground by countermines, and towers that were on the point of being blown into the air remained unshaken. So evident was the protection of the holy Hegumens Sergius and Nicon, who, by appearances in dreams or visions, encouraged the brotherhood, of whom more than 800 men fell either by the sword or by sickness during the continuance of the siege; but the Lavra stood out: and not only did it then serve for the sole defence of the state, but while itself half overwhelmed by the enemy, it actually relieved Moscow with a supply of bread, when the famous Bursar Abram Palitsin, during a time of famine, opened, at the request of the Tsar, his stores, and twice supplied the exhausted capital.

Basil already felt his throne shake under him, surrounded as he was by storms such as Russia had never up to that time experienced. With difficulty he dispersed, in the square called Beautiful, a mob of insurgents, which the Patriarch Hermogenes had in vain attempted to reason with. Once more, however, for the last time, and that a short one, a gleam of sunshine broke on the fortunes of the Tsar, and brightened the darkness of his reign by the victories of

CHAP. VII.

his nephew, the young Prince Michael. With the assistance of the Metropolitan Isidore, he settled the citizens of Novogorod in their allegiance, concluded a convention with the Swedes, and, in conjunction with their General Delagardie, began gradually to clear the northern districts, routing the rebels and the Lithuanians on all sides. The convent of St. Macarius of Koliazinsk witnessed his victory. In the village of Alexandroff, once the dreaded abode of John, the young general intrenched himself, and had begun to concentrate upon that point the troops of the eastern provinces, when Sapiega and Lisofsky raised the siege, and fled from beneath the walls of the Lavra.

But this first trial of its courage served only for the commencement of those gigantic exertions, which the Lavra afterwards undertook in the cause of her country. Already her treasury was exhausted by three loans of 65,000 roubles, equal to a million at the present day, made to the Tsars Godounoff, the pretended Demetrius, and Shouesky: the last required still further succours: they gave up their plate and ornaments, when the long siege made the repair of their shattered walls indispensable. There were not many days now left for the Tsar Basil, before he was to be forced to take the monastic vows, and to be confined in a Polish prison; nor many either for the patriarch Hermogenes to confess the name of Christ on the pontifical throne, before he was to suffer martyrdom, when the happy idea was inspired from above into both their minds, to choose the archimandrite of the Starits, Dionysius, to be the superior of the Lavra in the place of Josaphat, who was dead, and thus to preserve their country. For when there was no longer either Tsar or patriarch, when Moscow itself, as one might almost say, had ceased to exist, being weighed down for a year and a half under the Polish yoke, the Lavra became the heart of all Russia: Dionysius alone took the place of all the other authorities, and as the visible representative of the protection of St. Sergius, overshadowed with his influence the whole land of Russia, and drew her together around the ruins of the capital.

CHAP. VII.

The calamitous condition of the empire, which had war at once on all sides, moved her ancient enemy Sigismund also at length to invade her defenceless territories, not with a band of volunteer-confederates like the false Demetrius, but with a regular army; for he coveted for himself, and for his son Vladislaff, the throne of Moscow. The king hoped to find treason in Smolensk; but Smolensk, on the contrary, emulated the patriotism of the Lavra; the Voivode Shein and the Archbishop Sergius, fortified themselves there, and broke the force of the whole Polish invasion. The spirits and strength of their army were exhausted by the length of the siege, and this campaign of the Poles delivered Moscow itself for a time from the troops of the pretender, who was not acknowledged by the king. The counterfeit Demetrius fled with Marina to Kalouga, which remained faithful to him, and there got together a fresh band. But the traitors of Toushine, Saltikoff, and Mosalsky, offered the crown to Prince Vladislaff, the son of Sigismund.

In the mean time, opening himself a road by his victories, the Prince Michael triumphantly approached the capital. The people enthusiastically welcomed their deliverer: Liapounoff offered him the crown, which the youthful hero magnanimously refused; but the Tsar conceived a suspicion against him, envy obtained dominion over his brother and his wicked sister-in-law, daughter of the infamous Skouratoff, and Michael died suddenly at an entertainment given in their house. The rage of the people, which was with difficulty repressed, turned into lamentations over his early tomb. Once more, and now indeed for the last time, the throne of Basil was shaken to its foundations. The rebellion broke out again; Liapounoff wrested out of his hands the district of Riazan; Zaraisk[2] alone was preserved by the Prince Pojarsky, the future liberator of Russia; the fidelity of Kazan and other towns was shaken.

The Hetman Jolkefsky had by this time marched from before the walls of Smolensk upon Moscow, for the purpose of reducing it in the name of Vladislaff. Prince Demetrius

CHAP. VII.

Shouesky, who took the command of the army after the death of his brave nephew, met the hetman at Kloushine, near Mojaisk, was defeated, and put to flight. His allies the Swedes, under Delagardie, retreated upon Novogorod. The nest of traitors and bandits, which the pretended Demetrius had got together, began also to stir in Kalouga. His followers destroyed the monastery of Paphnoutieff[3], where the brave Prince Volkonsky defended himself with the monks; the enemy again appeared near Moscow, at the village of Colomna. The capital was all in confusion, and turned against the unfortunate Tsar: the brother of Liapounoff, the Prince Galitzin, and other of the chief commanders of Moscow, came to an understanding with the traitors of Toushine, and determined to disown equally the pretended Demetrius and Basil, and to endeavour to work upon the latter to relinquish his throne, and entrust the helm of government to the senior boyar, the Prince Mistislafsky, with the Council of the Boyars, till a new election.

The Patriarch Hermogenes strongly opposed this new treason; but he was not listened to. Basil was deposed from the throne, and compelled to receive the tonsure in the Choudoff monastery, while his wife became a nun in the Ivanoff convent[4]. One of the conspirators pronounced the words of the vow for the Tsar, upon whom the whole proceeding was compulsory. The patriarch declared that it was not binding. But the adherents of the pretender deceived the boyars of Moscow, and as soon as they were without a Tsar, proposed again the counterfeit Demetrius. But Jolkefsky was now close at hand. Under such pressing circumstances, Prince Mistislafsky proposed to the council to elect Vladislaff of Poland as their Tsar. Again the patriarch rose up in opposition, imploring them not to sacrifice the Church, and suggested offering the crown, either to the illustrious nobleman Prince Basil Galitzin, or to the youth Michael, the son of Philaret Romanoff, and grand-nephew to the first consort of John; but the majority of voices decided in favour of Vladislaff, because they feared there would be no

strength in their own countrymen who were proposed for election. Conferences were opened with Jolkefsky, who joyfully accepted proposals so flattering to Poland, and without waiting for any authority from Sigismund, solemnly concluded a convention with the patriarch and the boyars. All the conditions were to the advantage of Russia, and ambassadors of the first distinction, Prince Basil Galitzin, and the Metropolitan Philaret of Rostoff, both of whom might have had some pretensions to the throne, together with Abram the bursar of the Trinity, were sent to the camp before Smolensk, to ask Sigismund to give them his son to be their Tsar, with this condition, that he should be baptized into the orthodox faith. Hermogenes conjured them not to betray their country, and Philaret made a vow that he would be ready to die in defence of the faith.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of the capital swore allegiance to Vladislaff; the pretender, deserted by his Polish allies, fled again to Kalouga, where he was soon afterwards killed for his cruelty; and Marina was left there alone with a son to whom she had lately given birth. But Jolkefsky did not retire from Moscow: it was inundated by the traitors of Toushine, Saltikoff, Mosalsky, and Molekanoff: they went to the cathedral to ask the blessing of the patriarch: the pastor answered them firmly: "If you have come into the church with an honest intention and without guile, may a blessing be upon you, but if not, then an anathema!" Their honesty soon shewed itself; for during the night they admitted the Poles into the Kremlin, under the pretence of putting down a riot of the mob, and in the morning their arms glittered, to the terror of the citizens, on the walls of the Kremlin and the Kitai. The hetman had been waiting only for this to depart; he left in Moscow, as commandant, Gonsevsky, and the Council of the Boyars for the civil administration, and took with him the two brothers of the Tsar, and Basil himself, out of the monastery of Volokolamsk, where he had been confined, and set forth to join the king before Smolensk. There our ambassadors were already suf-

CHAP. VII.

fering from ill-treatment, and astonished the enemy no less by their firmness and endurance, than the besieged citizens did by their brave defence of the town. The king did not enter into the great views of the hetman; he was by no means pleased that Vladislaff should reign, but wished rather to be master himself; and as a first preliminary, he demanded the surrender of Smolensk, and supplies of money. Philaret and Galitzin, begged him even with tears not to disavow the acts of the hetman, but in vain; the hetman himself, when he saw the convention set aside, and the fruit of his own victories lost by the petty ambition of Sigismund, retired from the camp, having first delivered up to the king Basil, who maintained his own dignity in misfortune, and did not demean himself before his proud conqueror. But the inflexible ambassadors, after having for a long time endured cold and privation, as did their Tsar himself, were sent under guard to Poland, where they lay for nine years in a painful confinement.

At length, the general dissatisfaction felt against Sigismund and the violence of the Poles broke out openly. Hermogenes bestowed his blessing on all those who should enrol themselves in behalf of their country. Liapounoff with his province of Riazan took up arms. The people were loud in their murmurs, and were constantly quarrelling with the Poles. Letters from Moscow and Smolensk, for succour, were circulated in all parts of the empire. The epistles of Dionysius, the archimandrite of the Trinity monastery, to the voivodes, were most powerful and moving; at his pathetic appeal even the leaders of Toushine began to move, and the Prince Troubetskoy, and Zaroutsky, the Ataman of the Cossacks, who soon, however, again changed sides; but while they hesitated, Moscow was consumed by fire.

The Council of the Boyars had already lost all its authority; Gonsevsky urged the patriarch to forbid any general rising; the traitor Saltikoff insolently demanded the same. "I will forbid it," firmly replied Hermogenes, "when I see Vladislaff baptized, and the Poles evacuating the country; if this is not

to be, then I enjoin on all to rise, and absolve them from their oath to the King's son." Saltikoff lifted his dagger against the old man; the prelate made the sign of the cross over him, and said, "I oppose this sign against thy audacity; a curse light upon thy head for ever;" and then, turning to the Prince Mistislafsky, who had voted for the election of the son of Sigismund, he said to him quietly, "Thou wast first in place, and thou oughtest to have been the first to suffer for the right; but thou sufferedst thyself to be led away, and the Lord will pluck thee and thy root away out of the land of the living." Time passed on, and the storm of patriotism rose higher and higher: once more the boyars were sent with a threatening message to Hermogenes: "All will be quiet," he again replied to Saltikoff, "if thou, O traitor, wilt only remove thyself with thy Lithuanians: as for me, I give my blessing to all who are ready to die for the orthodox faith, for I see it insulted, and I cannot endure to hear the Latin singing in the palace of the Tsar Boris." They placed him under guard, and compelled him, for the last time, to perform the usual ceremonies on Palm Sunday.

In Passion week, an insurrection of the people broke out, originating in an accidental fray with some of the Poles, and Gonsevsky's guards eagerly seized the opportunity for bloodshed and pillage; flames broke out, and spread themselves over all the capital, which was nearly defenceless; the Prince Pojarsky alone fought in the midst of the smoke with the enemy, and fell wounded. For three days Moscow continued burning, the fire being continually rekindled wherever it became extinguished, and so the whole city was all at once reduced to a desert. The Poles raged with merciless barbarity, and the inhabitants fled in all directions. There remained only the Kremlin blackened outside with smoke, and the Kitai[5], which was a den of Russian traitors. Surrounded by the smoking ruins of the capital, Hermogenes could no longer remain patriarch; he was deposed from his throne, and confined in the Choudoff monastery, while, in the place of the venerable elder, the Greek Ignatius, who had been the

CHAP. VII.

creature of the counterfeit Demetrius, was brought forth from his cell, and occupied, for the second time, as mock-patriarch, the throne of two such prelates as Job and Hermogenes. With such sufferings was the commencement of the patriarchate in Russia attended. Job, indeed, was only a confessor for the faith; but this was not enough for Hermogenes: he endured to the end, and was accounted worthy of the crown of martyrdom: inflexible alike to prayers and threats, he was starved to death in prison, to
1612. be a pledge of deliverance to his country.

Then the voivodes drew their forces together round Moscow, and shut up their enemies within a circle in which they hoped to reduce them by famine. The Bursar Abram was sent from the Trinity Lavra with holy water[6] to the camp of the warriors, to confirm their resolution. A quarrel had broken out between Liapounoff, Troubetskoy, and the traitor Zaroutsky, whom the first-named of the three accused of treachery; and the Ataman, having joined himself with Marina for ambitious designs, murdered this brave defender of his country at a conference.

Meanwhile, after a siege of two years, the patriotic city of Smolensk was taken by assault; but Sigismund neither dared nor was able to advance farther with his exhausted army. He sent to the assistance of those who were besieged in the Kremlin the detachment of the Hetman Khotkevich, but returned himself with his illustrious prisoners, the Boyar Shein and the Archbishop Sergius, to celebrate his victory in Warsaw; where other noble captives, the Tsar Shouesky, his brothers, and the ambassadors, were still pining in confinement. The king's personal vanity was gratified by the outward eclat of triumph; but this was all: the throne of Moscow was lost for ever both to himself and to Vladislaff.

But the weakness and anarchy which prevailed in Russia made her enemies of her former allies, and raised up new pretenders to the crown to follow the example of Sigismund. The Swedish General Delagardie, who had retreated to Novogorod after the battle at Kloushine with Jolkefsky,

began to take measures in favour of his own sovereign, and seized upon several of the frontier fortresses; he took Novogorod itself, which however, though ungarrisoned, cost him a bloody engagement with the citizens, who were encouraged, from the summit of the walls of St. Sophia, by their Metropolitan Isidore, the zealous guardian of his flock. Superior force overcame valour, and Delagardie compelled Great Novogorod to conclude a convention, by which she bound herself to acknowledge as Tsar of Moscow one of the sons of the king of Sweden, either Gustavus Adolphus, or Philip, according as their father Charles IX. should choose; in the mean time he continued to reduce the northern provinces in their name; but he met with a stout opposition from the Solovetskay Lavra. CHAP. VII.

This Lavra had been fortified with strong walls before, at the time of the first incursions of the Swedes, by order of the Tsar Theodore, and had been provided with artillery, and with musqueteers from its own dependant villages, as had also the Soumsky, and other forts depending upon it on the coast. When the troubles of the pretenders began, the king of Sweden enquired, through his generals, of the Hegumen Anthony, whom he acknowledged as Tsar, Shouesky, or the pretended Demetrius; and at the same time made a designing offer of his protection; but he received a resolute answer, "That no stranger should ever be Tsar of Russia, and that the Lavra stood not in any need of his soldiers." From that time it did not yield to the Trinity itself in its zeal for the common good; it gave a benevolence of 500 roubles to the Tsar Basil and the Prince Michael, for the pay of their Swedish allies, and actively co-operated besides towards the restoration of tranquillity to the country. By the prudence of the Hegumen Anthony, the whole district of the coast was saved from the Swedes, who, after their unsuccessful attempt by fraud, several times advanced to the Soumsky Fort, and even went in their vessels to besiege the monastery itself. But that glorious place, to which the remains of the great martyr, the Metropolitan Philip, some time its superior, had been

CHAP. VII.

lately translated, could not be shaken in its fidelity to its country; and during the whole time of the troubles, till the final conclusion of peace with the Swedes, the high-souled Hegumen Anthony, and his successor Irenarchus, stood there sleeplessly on guard.

At length, when all appeared to be lost, when the last resources of the country were exhausted, and every part ruined, suddenly, by the help of God, she recovered herself, shook off from her the ashes of her towns and villages, and flourished in renewed strength. The Trinity Lavra, by its ardent patriotism, rekindled the same flame in her chilled and paralysed members: the holy Archimandrite Dionysius was ever on the watch, and neglected no opportunity: he took care of the people who fled out of the capital; turned the whole of the convent into one great hospital for the sufferers; armed the servants of the house; sent letters in different directions, to Kazan, which was in a state of agitation, to the Metropolitan Ephraim, urging that they should co-operate with the general rising, also to the districts down the Volga, and to the North; and at the same time found the necessary provisions and supplies for the voivodes who were besieging Moscow. In consequence of a mysterious vision, a fast of purification was imposed on the whole land of Russia[7], and in Nijny the spark of pure self-devotion broke out in the heart of the citizen Minin, who found his example responded to by the whole nation. There the military force which was to free the country was concentrated, under the command of Pojarsky, who had risen again from his bed of sickness.

The unceasing entreaties of Dionysius and Abram moved the Prince to disregard the danger which threatened him under the walls of Moscow, in the camp of the troops there, from factious feuds, and to advance from Yaroslaff, where he had been long making his preparations, for the accomplishment of his great work. The Bursar Abram was continually with the armies, where he was no less active and efficient a personage than the Prince or Minin, and besides all this, was

historian at the same time. His eloquent pen has handed down to posterity the deeds of that time, and has informed us how his conciliatory discourses re-established peace and quiet in the divided camp, till at length, together with Zaroutsky, treason fled from out of it. Abram contributed to the victory gained by Pojarsky on the day of the hard-fought battle of the Daëvichy-plain with the Polish hetman, by persuading the Cossacks to leave their trenches and take part in the action. Having received from the old man the name of St. Sergius for their war-cry, they rushed through the river Moskva, shouting, "For St. Sergius!" "For St. Sergius!" and put to flight the Lithuanians. The Poles held out obstinately in the Kremlin. In the mean time new disturbances broke out among the Cossacks, who indignantly complained of their own poverty and the riches of their leaders, and prepared to disband themselves; but the archimandrite and the bursar sent to their camp the last remaining treasures of the Lavra, which were copes studded with pearls, begging them with tears not to desert their country, and they, touched by this appeal, swore to endure every privation.

Shortly afterwards, the venerable Sergius appeared in a dream to the Greek Archbishop Arsenius, who was confined in the Kremlin, and comforted him by foretelling their deliverance. The Kitai was taken by assault, and the Kremlin capitulated. The Archimandrite Dionysius, and all the assembled clergy, entered with the chant of thanksgivings, and proceeded to the church of the Assumption, and there they all shed tears when they saw the desolation of the holy place[8]. Both the archimandrite and the bursar were present at the unanimous election of Michael, the youthful son of Philaret, which took place in the town-house of the Trinity Monastery, to the delight and wonder of all. The synod and the council spoke as one man. The bursar announced from the public place the election to the people, and the people also, as with one voice, re-echoed the same name.

The Council of the Provinces appointed as deputies to

CHAP. VII.

Michael whom they had just elected, to invite him to accept the kingdom, Theodoret, archbishop of Riazan, the Bursar Abram, and the Boyar Sheremeteff, and wrote a letter in the name of all Russia to Sigismund, in which, after recounting all his acts of perfidy, she renounced through them all allegiance to Vladislaff his son, and requested him to restore his illustrious prisoners in exchange for Poles; but the father of the Tsar, the metropolitan of Rostoff, was too valuable a pledge for his enemies to decide to release him, although the firmness of the venerable prelate was a complete bar to their hopes.

His youthful son, not expecting the brilliant destiny which awaited him, was living humbly with his mother, the nun, at Kostroma, in the Hypatieff convent. The arrival of the deputies filled with alarm the tender mother, who had already experienced so many misfortunes. For a long time she rejected all their entreaties for herself and for her son, for whom it was a perilous and alarming thing to exchange the quiet of their convent for a stormy throne, shaken by all the horrors of war and civil discord; but after she had shed many tears, the presence of two miraculous Icons, that of our Lady of Vladimir, and the Theodorofskay, by which they implored her, moved the nun Martha to relent, and she yielded up her son to his country. The religious procession of Michael to the capital by the sanctuaries of Yaroslavla, Rostoff, Pereyaslavla, and the Trinity Lavra, which all lay on his road, was in truth but one continued public testimony of royal piety and popular affection. Three metropolitans, Ephraim of Kazan, Jonah of The Steeps, and Cyrill of Rostoff, who had been invited by the people to resume his former diocese, and had exerted himself greatly by his exhortations for the preservation of his country, crowned him with the crown of Monomachus in the cathedral of the Assumption; and letters statutory, of the whole synod of clergy, and of the council, put the
1613. seal to the election of the Romanoffs, by establishing for ever the right of an hereditary autocracy, which had been shaken by the unfortunate elections of Godounoff and Shouesky.

But as yet, neither the internal nor external disturbances had subsided; extensive districts of Russia still remained in the hands of her enemies; near Moscow itself, there were some towns in possession of traitors, and others given up to riots and anarchy. Zaroutsky was still formidable by the numbers of his confederates; thousands of Lithuanians, Cossacks, and Russian traitors, were dispersed in every direction, and by their sudden attacks pillaged the defenceless towns in different quarters of the empire. The Crimeans threatened us with their incursions. Little Russia, the Don, and the Oural, were ready now, as formerly, to support any new mischief for the sake of plunder. The experienced commanders of Poland and Sweden, Jolkefsky, Khotkevich, and Delagardie, were ready to advance at the first word of their masters. In Poland, the king, Sigismund, was a zealot for Rome, who was prompted at once by views of personal ambition and by ecclesiastical considerations to attempt the subjugation of Russia to the pope. A formidable neighbour, in the hero Gustavus Adolphus, had ascended the throne of Sweden. The Russian people was indeed enthusiastically disposed towards Michael, but yet had become too much used, in the course of so many years, to see frequent changes of their rulers; the royal council itself consisted of nobles who had seen through the reigns of five Tsars within a short space, and had been themselves, in part, the causers of anarchy; yet, in the midst of all these dangers from within and from without, the youthful Michael, inexperienced indeed, but pure before God and men, and unconnected with all the horrors of the past, was established by the hand of Providence to be the harbinger of a bright future to Russia.

That he might give greater weight and consistency to the Council of the Boyars, which had been so unsteady in the time of his predecessors, Michael strengthened it by uniting to it the council of the bishops, whose patriotism had been unwavering, and by their joint consultations the business of the state was transacted. After the return of the two senior metropolitans to their dioceses of Kazan and Rostoff, Jonah

CHAP. VII.

of The Steeps, as guardian of the patriarchal throne, ruled the Church for a time. The young Tsar sent embassies into distant countries to re-establish the political connection of the empire, with Shah Abbas of Persia, with the Emperor Rudolph, and with the maritime powers of Holland and England, whose mediation had a favourable influence on Poland and Sweden: at the same time he gave orders to lay siege to Smolensk, and his voivodes the Princes Pojarsky, Cherkassky, and others, were constantly fighting in the neighbourhood of the capital with passing bodies of the Lithuanians. Astrachan, and the South of Russia, were quieted by the capture of the traitor Zaroutsky and Marina; but in the North, Gustavus Adolphus advanced upon Pskoff, though without gaining any advantage. The troops of Delagardie plundered the wealthy Novogorod, which from that time never recovered its former greatness. But the spirit of its citizens was not yet extinguished; Cyprian, the noble archimandrite of the Khoutinsky monastery, persuaded the voivodes and the chief citizens to turn themselves to the new Tsar, and through the influence of the Metropolitan Isidore, he was sent by the Swedes as if for the purpose of negotiation with the Russian government; when he was at Moscow, he asked and obtained from Michael the pardon of all who had sworn allegiance to the Swedish prince, and so reunited again the ancient city of Novogorod to Russia, for which he suffered severe penalties after his return.

At length, seeing the obstinacy of the Russians, the Swedes determined to conclude a peace with them, through the mediation of the English ambassador, at the village of Stoloboff in the district of Novogorod; and though the northern possessions of Russia, Ingria and Carelia, were wrested from her for a time, this peace was indispensably necessary to enable her to assume a better attitude towards another still more powerful enemy, namely, Poland. The conferences which had been opened with her under the walls of Smolensk were broken off, notwithstanding the mediation of the Imperial ambassadors, and the last terrible invasion, under the command of the Prince Vladislaff, shook Russia to her centre once more, before

she was to enjoy the rest which she desired. The retreat of our voivodes from the siege of Smolensk, and the surrender of the towns along the road to the capital, marked again with disasters the commencement of this campaign; but Mojaisk, about which the fate of the capital was destined to be decided, stood firm. The prince passed it, and with the assistance of Sagaidachny, the hetman of the Cossacks from beyond The Falls, struck a blow at Moscow, which was now however filled with a different spirit. On every side she repulsed the attack of the Poles. At last, the Lithuanian forces advanced against the sacred precinct of the Trinity Lavra; the Archimandrite Dionysius and the bursar gave orders to fire the suburbs, and again fortified themselves to stand a siege. At the feet of St. Sergius, the thunder-cloud was destined to burst and dissolve, which for fifteen years had rolled over the darkened horizon of Russia; and its last bolt glanced on the Lavra, as if for nothing else than to illumine it with new brilliancy; for it alone had stood out this long tempest, without tarnishing its glory, by any single act of treason. Within view of its walls, in the neighbouring village of Diouline, conferences were opened with the prince for peace, and after long negotiations, a truce for fifteen years was concluded, with very great sacrifices on the part of Russia, which ceded Livonia, Smolensk, and the western towns; but still it was the means of preserving the distracted empire.

Then at last were liberated our illustrious prisoners, who had so long pined in captivity, first the living, and afterwards also those that were dead; the Tsar Shouesky and his brothers had been buried in a crossway in Warsaw, under a pillar, with an inscription recording their melancholy fate; our inflexible ambassador, the Prince Galitzin, was also dead; but there returned alive the brave Voivode Shein, with Sergius, archbishop of Smolensk, and, to the inexpressible joy of his royal son, Philaret himself, the metropolitan of Rostoff. The meeting between the son, now Tsar, and the prelate his father, at his entry into the capital, was most affecting; each wished to fall at the feet of the other; and by a tender mutual

CHAP. VII.

embrace, they sealed the union between the Church and the State, which they represented severally in their persons.

At this remarkable period, so difficult and unsettled for the Church both of Northern and of Southern Russia, for neither the one nor the other had pastors, there came to Moscow Theophanes, patriarch of Jerusalem, as an angel of peace to them both. The Eastern patriarchs having heard of the troubles which prevailed among their brethren in the Russian empire, and of the Romish persecutions of Orthodoxy, which had become powerless in the South from the want of bishops, met for consultation at the Sepulchre of our Lord, and sent its meek guardian to set in order the Russian Church: the patriarch of Constantinople gave him authority to act in his name, and sent with him as exarch from himself the Archimandrite Arsenius.

At his first visit to the Russian capital, just before the liberation of the father of the sovereign, Theophanes found the Church in a state of agitation, on account of some corrections which had been made in the Trebnik, or Office Book[9]. The Tsar himself had remarked the gross errors which had not only crept long before into the MSS. copies of the Church books, but even into those which had been printed in the time of the patriarchs Job and Hermogenes, and had committed to the holy Dionysius, in conjunction with the brotherhood of the Trinity, the task of correcting these errors by the books of the learned Greek Maximus, and others which were preserved in the Lavra; for from the time of the Hundred Chapter Council, and down to that of Nikon, this work was a constant object of solicitude both to the Tsars and to the patriarchs. Dionysius, having collated the Russian Trebnik with the Greek, expunged from the Office for the Blessing of the Water[10] the words "by fire," incorrectly inserted after the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the water; he likewise corrected certain Exclamations or Responses, in which the doxology of the Holy Trinity was joined with a preceding prayer to the Son of God; and for this he was subjected to a most bitter persecution from Jonah, the ignorant

metropolitan of The Steeps. For the space of a whole year the holy elder suffered close confinement, blows, and torture, beside insults from the people, who absurdly accused him of wishing to extirpate the element of fire from the land of Russia; and all this he endured with exceeding meekness and patience, as a confessor for the word of God. The arrival of the patriarch alleviated the hardships of his lot.

CHAP. VIII.

THE PATRIARCHS.

III. PHILARET.

CHAP. VIII.

THEOPHANES, first of all, at the recommendation of the Tsar, and in concert with the synod of the clergy, earnestly entreated the Metropolitan Philaret, who had suffered so much, to undertake the exalted dignity of patriarch. They were long refused by the prelate, who, at the very moment of his liberation, and when he was now within the frontier of his country, had refused to proceed farther, in consequence of having learned that the enemies who had set him at liberty were trying to work upon the filial tenderness of the Tsar, to obtain further concessions, beyond those stipulated for in the treaty. Having been tried by all manner of misfortunes for the space of twenty years, made a monk against his will, banished, separated from his family, torn by force from his Church, insulted, and lastly, having pined nine years in captivity, the old man, worn out, wished only for a quiet life, and was with difficulty persuaded by the Tsar, the patriarch, and the synod, to adorn the throne of St. Peter[1]. Thus, for the third time since the institution of the patriarchate, its throne was ascended by a Confessor, and the nine years widowhood of the Church of Moscow was at length terminated. The pseudo-patriarch, the traitor Ignatius, had fled just before the accession of Michael to Poland. The patriarch of Jerusalem himself performed the consecration of the great Philaret, and, by a statutory letter, confirmed for ever the rights granted at the institution of Job by the Most Holy Jeremiah, patriarch of Constantinople. Thus was brought about an event remarkable in the annals of the world, which

has in no country nor at any time been repeated, of a father as patriarch and his son as sovereign governing together the kingdom.

The Patriarch Theophanes delayed not to vindicate Dionysius, who was still suffering, before the new primate of Moscow, and promised, in testimony of the justice of his cause, to procure and send letters declaratory, after consulting with the other Eastern patriarchs; and this he afterwards performed. For the Most Holy Philaret continued zealously to apply himself to the correction of the service-books of the Church. The archimandrite was set at liberty, and returned to the Lavra, which his exploits had covered with glory, and there he had the satisfaction of solemnly receiving his deliverer, and of seeing the Lord of Jerusalem humble himself before the relics of the venerable Sergius: he presented to Theophanes the brave monks who had fought together with himself for their country, who found that their wounds received in battle served them still as the best remembrancers for weeping and sighing over their sins.

Carrying with him the benedictions of Northern Russia, the blessed Theophanes departed for the South, and visited Kieff, the ancient mother of Orthodoxy, which had suffered much from the want of governors to her Church. The king, Sigismund, notwithstanding his persecutions, acknowledged Theophanes as a patriarch, and ordered due honours to be paid him, though he afterwards acted inconsistently, and seemed to question his dignity. Being zealous for the promotion of learning among the clergy, Theophanes established, in the name of the patriarch of Constantinople, the Brotherhood of the Epiphany as a Stauropegia, that is, to depend immediately upon the Œcumenical Lord, and gave them his benediction for the institution of a school in it for the Greeko-Slavonic and the Latin-Polish languages, and united to it the Brotherhood of Mercy, a house for the reception of strangers, which was converted into an academical Inn for poor scholars. Sagaidachny, the hetman of the Cossacks beyond the Falls, disposed of all his property in

CHAP. VIII.

favour of this new house, and himself ended there in prayer a life of military exploits.

When by the long stay of the patriarch in Kieff the orthodox had begun gradually to hold up their heads again, the reverend clergy and the nobility being assembled, with the hetman, from the neighbouring towns, on the festival of the Assumption, entreated Theophanes to give them at length a head to their Church, and pastors, of which Little Russia had been so long deprived. After the example of former
1620. patriarchs, he solemnly consecrated in the Lavra Job Boretsky, hegumen of the monastery of St. Michael, as metropolitan of Kieff, and two others, the Archimandrite Meletius Smotretsky, rector of the seminary at Wilna, to be archbishop of Polotsk, and Joseph Courtsevich for the see of Vladimir in Volhynia. He afterwards consecrated to the other remaining Sees, Isaac to Loutsk, Isaiah to Peremuishla, Paisius to Kholm, and Abram, a Greek, to Pinsk. Thus he restored all the vacant dioceses; and having exhorted all to stand firm in defence of the faith, he returned in peace to his own country.

Upon this followed a renewal of the intrigues of the Uniates, and a violent persecution on the part of the government against the orthodox bishops, whose legitimacy it refused to recognise, although it had not interfered to prevent their consecration. The Metropolitan Job was obliged to send the Bishop Joseph to the diet of Warsaw for his own justification and that of all the other prelates; but, notwithstanding that the assurance which the king received from Turkey of the full powers of the Patriarch Theophanes mollified him somewhat toward the persons of the bishops, the persecutions against the orthodox Church did not cease. The Stauropegia of the Theophany in Kieff was destroyed by the Uniates; in Wilna and Loutsk the Orthodox churches were converted into inns; in Orsha, in Mogileff, Mstislaff, Grodno, and other places, the churches were sealed up; in Minsk, they gave the Church lands to a Mahometan mosque; in Lvoff and Khelm the orthodox priests dared not shew themselves with the Holy Gifts, nor openly bury the dead;

the monasteries were emptied, the priests and monks tortured, and the new bishops were prevented from having free communication with their flocks. Jehosaphat, the Uniate archbishop of Polotsk, surpassed all others in the atrocity of his persecutions of the orthodox: he even insulted the bodies of those who had been buried; and irritated the people to such a degree, that he was himself murdered in Vitebsk; he was added, by the Romans, to the list of their martyrs: at the same time the Cossacks also of the Horde beyond the Falls, who alone stood firm for orthodoxy, and had put down in Kieff the violence of the Uniates, drowned in the Dnieper Anthony, the hegumen of the Vidoubets monastery, and vicar of the Uniate metropolitan Joseph.

The unhappy end of Jehosaphat cost the orthodox Church one of her most learned pastors, Meletius archbishop of Polotsk, who had distinguished himself by his writings in her defence. He was unjustly accused by the Polish government of having instigated the murder of Jehosaphat, and was obliged to fly into Greece, where he wandered three years, thinking that in the mean time the accusation would die away. At length, moved by fear, he pusillanimously gave himself up to the party of the Uniates, and wrote his Apology in censure of the orthodox Church. The Metropolitan Job 1622.
convoked a synod in Kieff, and compelled Meletius to perform public penance in the church, and even to tear his own book. But Meletius Smotritsky, as soon as he had returned into his diocese, and settled himself in the Dermansky monastery, which he selected on account of its contiguity to Poland, published a second edition of his first Apology, apostatized decidedly from orthodoxy, and even made a journey to Rome, to do homage to the pope, who conferred on him the title of Archbishop of Hierapolis; from that time Polotsk ceased to be reckoned in the list of orthodox dioceses. Both metropolitans, Job of Kieff, and the Uniate Joseph, convoked synods, the one in Kieff the other in Lvoff, of the bishops of their side; the one for the preservation of his torn and scattered flock, the other for the extension of his; while the royal diet

CHAP. VIII.

at Warsaw confirmed the rights of both Confessions, though rather in word than deed. The death of the persecutor Sigismund, and the accession of Vladislaff IV., who proclaimed, on coming to the crown, free liberty to all Confessions, did no more than excite short-lived hopes, destined soon to be disappointed.

In the mean time the government of Moscow took advantage of the temporary armistice with Poland, to make reforms in the regulation both of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, under the joint and concordant superintendance of Michael and Philaret, to whom his affectionate son even gave the title of Great Sovereign[2]. The internal order of government was partially changed. The Council of the Boyars remained on its old foundation, that is, as the council of the Tsar in all matters of importance; but the variety of business required more intermediaries between the sovereign and his people, than only the voivodes and deputies, or governors, who administered justice in the provinces in the name of the Tsar. Separate courts were established in Moscow, which were empowered to take cognizance of the affairs of all the towns of the empire, and even to try the governors. The celebrated edict of the Tsar Theodore, by which the peasants were forbidden to change their feudal lords at will, which had been revoked by Godounoff, and re-enacted by Shouesky, was finally confirmed by Michael; and in his time the Census-Books were first established, containing a description of the towns, and of the divisions of the manors. Moved by filial affection, the Tsar extended his father's privileges, and gave more splendour also to the patriarchal court. Previously to this, in the year 1599, Boris, as a proof of his good will to the patriarch Job, had renewed the patent given by John to the Metropolitan Athanasius, his confessor, to this effect, "That all the people of the Primate, his officers, servants, and serfs, were freed from all dependance upon the royal boyars, governors, and judges; were not to be judged by them for any crimes, except for crimes against life, and those were first to be certified from the patriarchal court; they were also freed from all government imposts." This ancient right of our

clergy to civil immunity remained unchanged, during the reigns of Basil, Michael, and his son, down to the times of Nikon. The Tsar Michael Theodorovich further ordained, that in all country places and towns, the monasteries, churches, and lands, which belonged to the special province of the patriarchs, should have the peculiar privilege of being judged in civil matters only in the Court of the Great Palace, which was supposed to be before the sovereign in person; and that all archimandrites, hegumens, priests, deacons, and clerks, of these houses and parish churches, with their lands and dependencies, should be subject to the jurisdiction of the patriarch alone, except in capital cases; that, in fine, none should interfere with his court, petty court, tithes, and dues, which he according to his own judgment might impose on the clergy and the parishes of his province; while the privilege was reserved to the Trinity Lavra, on account of its services, as well as to two other convents, that of the Ascension in the Kremlin, and of the Novodaëvichy, in which so many royal nuns had gone to their rest, since the time of John, of depending on the jurisdiction of the patriarch alone. But at the same time the Tsar's edict, in confirmation of the former edicts of John to the same effect, forbade the monasteries to acquire, either by purchase or gift, any new manors or other real property, the quantity of which held by the Church had increased enormously during the years of prosperity.

Russia, confined on the West by the strong hands of Poland and Sweden, extended herself with a gigantic growth towards the East. Siberia, which could scarcely be said to have been more than discovered by Yermak, and that imperfectly, had now, by the end of fifty years, already more than half of it become a Russian province. Adventurers of the Cossacks, and hunters, with little assistance from the government, had continued to subject boundless deserts in the names of Godounoff, the pretended Demetrius, and Shouesky, at the very time that they themselves perhaps were losing their uncertain thrones in Moscow: Altin, the khan of the Mongols, heard at length, in the regions high up toward the sources of the

CHAP. VIII.

Amour, the name of Michael. Like the Varagians of old, the Cossacks first ascended, and then descended again the courses of rivers to their confluence with others, erecting small forts at their mouths, with two or three armed men as guardians of their new possessions, while the savage inhabitants came to pay them tribute in furs, and bowed before the greatness of unseen Russia, which had awed them by the exploits of her sons. With about as little risk, the New World was subjugated by Cortez and Pizarro. Siberia was in like manner a new world for Russia. By degrees towns arose in it further and further to the East, and in the midst of the uninhabited desert, by that piety which was peculiar to our ancestors, convents were erected at the same time with the towns; first one in Verchotoursk, which was founded by a certain hermit named Jonah, then in Tiumene, and so also in other places. But in the mean time this extensive kingdom had no sort of spiritual government; the fierce Cossacks paid scarcely any obedience to the commanders of the Tsar; they gave themselves up to the grossest licentiousness; and for wives they were used to carry off women by violence out of Russia, or from among the heathens: their disorders attracted the attention of the Most Holy Philaret.

Although, in consequence of the joint recommendation of the patriarchs Jeremiah and Job, the number of the Russian dioceses had before been considerably increased, Hermogenes had still felt the necessity of erecting a new archiepiscopal throne in the distant city of Astrachan, and had consecrated Theodosius as its first occupant: and now again when, during
1607. our civil dissensions, the kingdom of Siberia had been conquered, the Patriarch Philaret could not find any better
1623. means for its internal organization, than the formation of the new archbishopric of Tobolsk and Siberia. The choice of the patriarch fell on Cyprian, the archimandrite of the Khoutinsky monastery, a man illustrious for his sufferings: he first visited this distant flock, and in the four years that his episcopate lasted, laid a solid foundation for the future. Being urged by the letters of the patriarch to attempt a reformation

of the morals of the Cossacks, he began by degrees, with the assistance of the voivodes, to extend over them his beneficent influence, and in order to confirm them in the observance of our divine religion, he founded new convents among them in Neviansk, Tagila, Tara, Tomsk, and Tourouchansk; he beautified the Znamensky convent in Tobolsk itself; and brought into more perfect order those convents both of men and women, which had been previously founded in Verchotoura and Tourinsk; he also obtained a grant of land for the new archiepiscopal residence, in order to make it independent, in that wild region, for the benefit of his successors, he himself being soon translated to Moscow, to be metropolitan of the Steeps, and from thence again to his native city of Novogorod. Cyprian left behind him a memory to last for ever in Siberia, where he collected from the lips of the followers of Yermak, who were still living, their tales of his distant expeditions; and composed from thence a chronicle, which has preserved to posterity the exploits of that adventurous leader.

The cares of the patriarch extended equally to Novogorod in his own vicinity as to the distant Tobolsk. Grieving for, and being anxious on account of the orthodox children of the Church, who had been torn away by the treaty of Stoloboff, and made subjects of Sweden, he wrote to Macarius, metropolitan of Novogorod, to continue to govern them as his spiritual flock; while the Swedes on their part offered no impediment to their keeping up their connection with their former pastor. Thus the bond of ecclesiastical unity was preserved unbroken, in spite of their civil separation, till they were reunited to Russia. To the successor of Macarius was intrusted by the patriarch the charge of destroying certain copies of the Church Directory circulated in all the North, which were full of gross errors, and had been printed without the cognizance of the Most Holy Hermogenes, by the Directory keeper of the Trinity Lavra, a wicked heretic, named Longinus, who had put many personal affronts upon the holy Archimandrite Dionysius on account of his zeal and care for the books. These same Directories were made some

CHAP. VIII.

time later the pretext for the outbreak at the Solovetsky convent.

Philaret himself was principally occupied with preparing a correct edition of a new Trebnik[3] and other service books and books of an ecclesiastical nature, wishing to preserve his flock from the publications of the Western Unia, such as the Evangelical Instructions of the Archimandrite Tranquillion, which were dangerous to orthodoxy. Carried on further by his zeal, and by his sense of those calamities which he had himself seen caused by the innovations of Rome, he decreed in council, on the occasion of certain questions being proposed by Jonah metropolitan of the Steeps, that they should restore the former custom disused by Ignatius under the pretender, of rebaptizing those who were converted from Latinism to Orthodoxy. It was only in the reign of the Emperor Peter, that this custom was done away with, as inconsistent with the ancient canons of the Church; but in the days of Philaret, the persecutions of the Uniates led men to widen the breach with Rome; the orthodox bishops were expelled from their dioceses, and among those who sought refuge in Russia was Joseph, the bishop of Vladimir in Volhynia.

The political horizon of Russia was again overclouded, during the latter days of Philaret, by an unsuccessful war with Poland, after the expiration of the armistice. The invasion by King Vladislaff, and the shameful surrender under the walls of Smolensk of the Boyar Shein, who had formerly distinguished himself by the defence of the same town, cost that commander his life, and Russia many sacrifices. Besides the loss of her soldiers, and of the money, which by the decision of a council had been raised from the monasteries for the use of the government, she was compelled, after a short war, to conclude at Viazura a new treaty still more oppressive than that of Stoloboff, by which she lost not only Smolensk, but also Chernigoff, and other towns of Seversk. But the great authors of her glorious deliverance were not now alive to be witnesses of so humiliating a peace. The Bursar

Abram had long since retired, in fulfilment of a vow which he had made, to the Solovetsky monastery, where he had originally received the tonsure, and there he died; and a year before his own decease the Patriarch Philaret interred with due honours in Moscow the holy Archimandrite Dionysius.

The great prelate himself departed this life on the day of the festival of the Protection of the Mother of God, who had given him as a protection to the land of Russia, in the midst of the tears of his country, and to the inconsolable grief of his son; Michael lost in him not only a father and a patriarch, but also an experienced assistant in the government, who according to the testimony of the contemporary chronicle, "rightly divided the word of God, confirmed the orthodox faith, and converted many heathens to Christianity:" he also improved the internal administration of the provinces, by allowing no toleration of lawless violence in any part of the kingdom, while he made compensation to those who had suffered, and had served their country during the interregnum. He was respected by all the neighbouring powers; and received as a present from the Shah Abbas of Persia, then famous in the East, the Seamless Coat of our Saviour, which, according to an ancient tradition, was brought into Georgia by one of the soldiers who parted his garments at the foot of the Cross, and was preserved for many ages in the cathedral of Mtschet[4]. Abbas could not have selected a better guardian for such a holy relic; and the Tunic of our Lord, which was distinguished by the working of numerous cures in the Russian capital, was placed by the patriarch in the cathedral of the Assumption, under the shade of a brazen tabernacle[5], near which he himself is laid down to his everlasting rest. 1633.

CHAP. IX.

THE PATRIARCHS.

IV. JOASAPH I.

CHAP. IX. 1631.

Joasaph archbishop of Pskoff, was chosen and made patriarch in his room by the council of his own bishops; letters of notification were sent to all the other patriarchs, and their recognition received in return, for greater security; but the meek Joasaph could not supply the place of such a statesman as Philaret to the Church or to the country, any more than he could that of the father, whom he had lost, to Michael. By the will however of a gracious Providence it was ordained when this royal luminary set in the North, another, equally brilliant, should rise to shine in the South, the cradle of our orthodox religion.

Peter Mogila, son of the hospodar of Moldavia, having received his education in the celebrated University of Paris[1], and having distinguished himself as a soldier in the Polish armies against the infidels, renounced worldly greatness, and received the tonsure in the Pechersky monastery, under its learned Archimandrite Zacharias Kopistensky, to whom he afterwards succeeded. The first act of Peter Mogila was to establish a school in the Lavra, from whence he sent forth some chosen students into foreign countries, to complete their education; among these were the future Metropolitan Silvester Kossoff, and the learned Innocentius Gizel[2]. The patriarch of Constantinople, Cyrill Lucar, having personal acquaintance with the merit of the archimandrite, appointed him exarch of his See; and he fully justified this choice; for he shewed himself a powerful defender of Orthodoxy in the diet of Warsaw, at the time of Vladislaff's accession to the throne, and obtained from the new king the restoration of many convents, churches, and properties, which had been taken

away from the Orthodox, together with freedom to establish seminaries and schools and printing presses, the re-establishment of the dioceses of Lvoff, Loutsk, and Peremuishla, and the formation of a new one in Mogileff, which was the only one that remained and flourished eventually, when all the other Orthodox sees had been one after another extinguished. Notwithstanding all the intrigues of the Uniates, royal letters were granted proclaiming entire freedom for the profession of the orthodox faith, and the practice of its rites. The king left to the Russian and Lithuanian nobility the right of electing their own metropolitan, subject to the confirmation of the patriarch of Constantinople: he restored to the metropolitans of Kieff the church of St. Sophia, which had been originally their cathedral; and, lastly, gave command to put a stop to all disputes about religion, and annulled the constitutions of the former diets. But these privileges were soon violated, partly during Vladislaff's own reign, but still more so during that of his brother and successor, John Casimir[3], who quitted the purple of the Roman cardinalate to be invested with that of royalty.

CHAP. IX.

In the mean time Job the metropolitan of Kieff died, and although Isaiah, archbishop of Smolensk, had already been designated as his successor, the Orthodox who had been present at the diet, in consideration of the services rendered by the archimandrite of the Pechersky, elected him as metropolitan, and sent to procure his confirmation to Cyrill, 1632. the patriarch of Constantinople. The ceremony of his consecration by the synod was performed in the town of Lvoff, and to the general delight of the people, Peter once more took possession of the ancient metropolitan residence of St. Sophia, retaining at the same time the office of archimandrite in the Lavra. Having restored his own cathedral church, which had been suffered to fall into ruins by the Uniates, he next turned his attention to the sacred ruins of the original Church of the Tythes of St. Vladimir, and restored one of its chapels[4]; he found under the arches of the church, the uncorrupted head[5] of its founder, the illuminator of Russia, and translated it to

CHAP. IX.

the Pecherskay Lavra, as a head and foundation to the whole Russian Church.

Peter being zealous for the promotion of learning among the clergy, united the school which he had established in the Lavra, with that of the Brotherhood in Podolia, which had been begun with the blessing of the patriarch of Jerusalem: he erected new buildings, an Inn for poor scholars, at his own expense, and a preparatory school: he established a library and a printing press; and obtained from the king the title of Spiritual Academy for the school of the Brotherhood; he took upon himself the title of Senior Brother and Patron, and immortalized his memory in the Academy, which was commonly called the Kievo-Mogilian long after his death.

Taking advantage of the short breathing-time which the orthodox religion enjoyed during the reign of Vladislaff, Peter Mogila was constantly sending forth from his printing press different works of the Holy Fathers, and books of the services of the Church, to counteract the influence of those published by the Uniates; and his larger Trebnik, or Office book, became the model for the performance of the Orthodox service. But the most important act of the metropolitan for the confirmation of his distracted flock, was the publication of the Orthodox Confession of Faith, which was written partly by himself and partly by the Archimandrite Isaiah Trophimovich, under his direction[6]. A council of bishops was convoked in Kieff for the revision of this Catechism, which had become indispensably necessary from the agitation of men's minds and from the subtle discourses and treatises of the jesuits, and which after being carefully corrected, and translated into modern Greek, was sent to Parthenius, patriarch of Constantinople. The appearance of such a book produced a strong impression in the East, into which the Calvinistic heresy had then penetrated. Crafty teachers of false doctrine, under the name of Cyrill Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, had sown tares entirely contrary to the doctrines of the Orthodox Church, and giving them out as her true and authentic Confession, had caused great scandal to the unlearned. Cyrill, although he had condemned

the new doctrine of Calvin, nevertheless had not stood up decidedly and openly to oppose it[7], and for his neglect he was himself delivered over to an anathema by his successor, Cyrill of Berœa[8]; but the agitation still continued. By the exertions of John, hospodar of Moldavia[9], a synod was convoked at Jassy, which once more condemned the false doctrines of Calvinism. The Metropolitan Peter Mogila, with four Russian bishops, confirmed by their subscriptions the acts of this synod. By command of Parthenius patriarch of Constantinople, his exarch, Meletius Striga, revised and finally corrected in the synod of Jassy the Orthodox Confession. From thence this book was sent for the confirmation of the Eastern patriarchs, and was returned with their letters of approval to Kieff, after the death of the great prelate Peter Mogila, who after all his labours and services rested in peace in the Lavra, and has ever since been justly esteemed one of the most shining characters in our ecclesiastical history.

CHAP. IX.

1643.

1647.

The period of his episcopate, which lasted as long as did the reign of Vladislaff, although favourable to Little Russia as far as regarded the improvement of clerical learning, was yet one in which her sufferings in a civil point of view increased to the last degree. The Polish government, in spite of the benevolent views of their king, oppressed in all possible ways the unfortunate Ukraine, in order to subjugate the Cossacks of the Horde beyond the Falls, who alone, from the inaccessible islands of the Dnieper, raised a free arm to strike in defence of their fellow countrymen and brethren in the faith. Their hetmans, one after the other, rose up against the cruel voivodes, and contended with their best commanders with varying success; at one time they spread terror over the Polish provinces, destroying on all sides the Kostels[10], for the first object of their enmity was the Roman clergy; at others, they fell themselves into the hands of the inexorable Polish leaders, and terminated their lives by the most fearful tortures. But the fate of Pavliouk, Ostranitsa, and other brave Atamans, did not terrify their valiant successors, because the same acts of injustice were continually recurring, and excited

CHAP. IX.

the general feeling beyond the bounds of endurance, until at length there appeared in the Ukraine a great man, who determined finally to throw off the Polish yoke, and make Little Russia subject to Russia, which professed the same religion as herself: this was the Hetman Bogdan Khmelnitsky. This liberation was effected during the illustrious episcopate of Silvester Kossoff, the pupil of Peter Mogila, who was elected from being bishop of Mogileff to the metropolitan see of Kieff; but by this time there had been a great change also in the political situation of the Russian empire; she had gained strength both within and without, and the helm of the state was held by different hands.

The Tsar Michael Theodorovich, ruling as he did over vast countries which had scarcely settled down into tranquillity after so long a storm, and straitened by Poland and Sweden, was unable to profit by the first proposal of Job the metropolitan of Kieff, that he should take under his high protection the whole of the Ukraine. He could do no more than dismiss with presents and flattering hopes the envoy who had been sent to him by Joseph bishop of Loutsk; but these hopes were realized in the time of his more powerful son the Tsar Alexis. Fearing a rupture with Turkey and the Crimea, which were ready to take up arms at the bidding of Poland, Michael could not even retain Azoph, which the Cossacks of the Don, who had gotten possession of that fortress, desired to hold in his name. The Council of the Provinces advised the Tsar to give up, for his own time at least, this valuable conquest; and he turned his attention rather to the means of strengthening against the incursions of the Tartars the frontiers of the Ukraine, and the capital itself, where the memory of the Polish invasion was still fresh. The illustrious liberator of his country, the Prince Pojarsky, who had continued, during all the reign of Michael, to conduct his armies, or to govern important provinces, died in the same year with the Muscovite Pontiff Joasaph, who left behind him a reputation for meekness, though he was not remarkable for any great abilities as a statesman.

CHAP. X.

THE PATRIARCHS.

V. JOSEPH.

His successor the patriarch Joseph, who was elected from being archimandrite of the Simonoff, and consecrated by Serapion, metropolitan of the Steeps, and a synod of bishops, resembled the great Philaret in his zeal for the promotion of ecclesiastical learning; but he found the reign of Michael now drawing to its close. The breaking off of the projected marriage between the Prince of Denmark and the Tsarevna Irene, shortened the days of her affectionate father, who had ardently desired the conversion of Voldemar to the Orthodox faith. There had been several discussions in the palace about religion between Russian priests chosen for the purpose, and pastors on the part of the prince. The Patriarch Joseph himself took a lively part in these controversies, and wrote treatises in the form of questions and answers to Voldemar, in which he powerfully confuted his heresy, and demonstrated the truth of Orthodoxy. The speedy decease of the Tsar put an end to these consultations on religion: Michael himself having a presentiment of his speedy departure to God, gave in charge to the patriarch his youthful son Alexis, born during the life of his great Grandfather, of his happy marriage with Eudocia Streshneff, and so fell as it were into a sweet sleep, after having been in his own person the instrument of conferring on Russia that breathing-time and repose, which she so much required. His countenance, says the Chronicle, shone like the sun at the hour of his departure.

The first part of the reign of the Tsar Alexis, which lasted sixteen years, recalled to mind the troubled beginning 1646.

CHAP. X.

of his father's. The boyars who surrounded him led his inexperience at their will, particularly his guardian, the Boyar Morozoff, who soon after the Tsar's union with Maria Miloslafsky, married her sister. The people were weighed down by imposts; there was no war indeed without, but local insurrections broke out in the towns from the disorganized state of the government. A mutiny of the Streltsi, our first regular body of guards, alarmed the capital, and cost the lives of two of the Tsar's private secretaries, whom the rebels accused of having arbitrarily raised the price of the necessaries of life. This was the first promise of those furious outbreaks by which the Streltsi eventually disgraced themselves during the early years of Peter. There appeared also pretenders, giving themselves out for sons of the pseudo-Demetrius, and of Shouesky; of whom the spiritual authorities of Greece forewarned the Tsar, from the affection they bore the Russians as their brethren in the faith. One of these was given up, and capitally punished; the other kept Russia for some years longer by the power of his assumed name in a state of needless excitement, while he wandered about in Turkey, at Venice, and among the Cossacks beyond the Falls.

In the midst of these disorders, the Tsar, who was exceedingly devout and religious, after consulting with the patriarch, the bishops, and the Council of the Boyars, determined to make a collection of the canons of the Holy Fathers, and the laws of the Greek emperors, also to correct the Statute Book of the Tsar John, completing it with the oukazes of later sovereigns, and to unite the whole of this in one code, capable of serving as the law for the whole kingdom. The redaction of this new code was intrusted to the Prince Nikita Odoefsky, in conjunction with two boyars of the council, and inferior secretaries; and to aid them there were called in the Tsar's Officers of the Table, of the Court, and of the Household, the Sons of the Boyars, and Strangers[1], chosen from all the greater towns; that, by their united efforts, this work, which concerned the provinces no less than the central government of the Tsar, might be successfully arranged. By

the end of the year it was completed with the blessing of the patriarch, and was confirmed by the subscriptions of the clergy, the boyars, and all ranks of the people.

By one of the articles of the new code was instituted the Monastery Court, consisting of lay members, to judge in civil suits against spiritual persons, and in matters arising out of their manors and properties, which before were all decided in the patriarchal court. At the same time the representatives of the different civil orders and classes, who had laboured at the collection of the laws, presented a petition to the Tsar, that the bishops and monasteries should be deprived of all the landed property which they had acquired either by gift or purchase since the time of the Tsar John, in opposition to his decree prohibiting any augmentation of the immoveable property of the clergy. Although the sovereign himself in his zeal for the Church, which was remarkable, in imitation of his father's example had already in the three years since his accession bestowed estates on many monasteries, which he continued to do even afterwards, nevertheless to satisfy the Council of the Provinces he ordered his secretaries to institute an enquiry, and make a description of the properties that had been acquired by them. These two circumstances were the occasion of his differences afterwards with Nikon.

Nikon was an extraordinary character in Russian history; alternately bright and dark great and feeble, sometimes the benefactor of the Church and State at others doing injury to both, he appears at the very commencement of the reign of the mild Alexis as a kind of destiny given him from above and inseparable from him to the end of his days, from the influence of which proceeded alike all that was glorious and all that was painful during his long reign, and which did not cease to trouble his spirit even then when the author of his trouble was himself wasting in confinement.

Born in the district of Nijgorod of parents who were simple villagers, Nikon learned to read the holy scriptures, and secretly left his home to commence his noviciate in order to become a monk in the Jeltovodsky convent. At the urgent entreaty

CHAP. X.

of his father he returned to enter into the state of matrimony, was ordained a parish priest, and removed to Moscow; but his original inclination for a life of seclusion remained in the deep of his heart notwithstanding those bonds which connected him with the world. The loss of all his children he took as a call from above, and after having been married ten years, persuaded his wife to enter into a convent, while he himself went to seek the strictest kind of monastic life in the depths of the North, amid the ice of Solovetsky. But not even did the remote Lavra of Sabbatius and Zosimus seem desolate enough to his mind; he found out for himself a wilder solitude still on the neighbouring island of Anzer in the hermitage of the venerable Eleazar, and there he spent many years in prayer and fasting, mortifying his flesh by continual discipline: on two occasions however, he was obliged to leave his beloved retreat, the first time to persuade again his wife to receive the final tonsure, and the second time, in company with the venerable Eleazar, to collect alms in Moscow. These alms, which contrary to the counsel of Nikon were kept a long time without being laid out upon the embellishment of the Lavra, became the occasion of a quarrel among them, and for the third time the hermit of Anzer left his cell with a sad heart. In a leaky boat he committed himself to the rough waves, and with difficulty escaped from the storm, and got ashore on the desert island of Kia, where he planted the cross, the sign of a future monastery. A favourable wind carried him to the mouth of the river Onega, from whence he went to the monastery of Kojeozersk, and then he again secluded himself to follow the same rule as at Anzer on an island which lay near, and excited the astonishment of the brotherhood by the severity of his life. Upon the death of their superior, Nikon was persuaded by the urgent entreaties of the whole community to go to Novogorod, to the Metropolitan Aphthonius, to ask to be blessed to the
1649. degree of hegumen; after three years of conventual life, he was obliged by the necessities of their Church to visit Moscow, and there for the first time he was seen by the young

Tsar. Struck by the noble height and bearing and by the manly eloquence of the hegumen, and having heard the report of his holy life, the pious monarch could not bring himself to part with such a man, and gave him the Novospassky monastery, the burying-place of his own ancestors.

This was the beginning of the worldly greatness of Nikon, but by no means the termination of his monastic austerities, for in them he continued steadfast even to his last hour. Here also was the beginning of those strong temptations of spirit, under the weight of which he gave way at last and from being exalted was led to exalt himself. The extraordinary favour of the Tsar distinguished the new archimandrite above all others. In the charms of his conversation Alexis Michaelovich found consolation to his soul, and from that time accustomed himself to be guided by his sage counsels: he found in him a zeal for the Church not inferior to his own, and the loftiest view not only of ecclesiastical but also of political matters, which in Nikon proceeded solely from the originality of his mind and from his bold openness of character. During the course of three years the archimandrite came every Friday to the chapel in the palace for the purpose of conversing with the Tsar after Divine service; on his way he received petitions from the people, and the Tsar as he left the chapel, signified his pleasure upon them, usually in favour of the petitioners. In this manner Nikon already began to enter partially into the direction of civil affairs. But when the weakness of the virtuous Aphthonius, metropolitan of Novogorod, compelled him to retire into the monastery of Khoutina, the sovereign chose Nikon to be his successor, and Paisius the patriarch of Jerusalem, who had come to Moscow in quest of alms, consecrated him at the desire of the Tsar as metropolitan of Great Novogorod. Thus by a curious concurrence of circumstances, one of the eastern patriarchs consecrated Nikon, who was destined at a subsequent period to be degraded from his dignity in like manner, through the instrumentality of the eastern patriarchs. His elevation and his fall were accompanied with equal eclat.

CHAP. X.

But Alexis had no sooner suffered Nikon to depart to take possession of his see, than he began to feel himself unhappy at his separation from a constant, true, and sincere friend, who had become necessary to him, both from the affection which he bore him personally, and for the business of the state. Every winter he invited the metropolitan to Moscow, to consult with him: and on account of these frequent journeys, Nikon asked and obtained from the Tsar the gift of the picturesque lake of Valdai, as a resting-place on the road; and there he founded on a woody island the monastery which is called the Iversky. Filled with impressions drawn from that seclusion in which he had passed the better days of his life, he conceived a wish that his new convent should put him in mind of mount Athos, the model of the monastic life, and he built it accordingly, so as to be a close imitation of a Russian monastery which was on the Holy Mountain.

Unusual authority was given by the sovereign to the metropolitan in his diocese; not only were all spiritual matters subjected to the exclusive jurisdiction of his court, but even all such civil causes as might affect persons belonging to monasteries the parochial clergy or even the manors of the Church. Nikon had, further the right of entering into the prisons, and on his own personal examination releasing any of the prisoners, if he found they were innocent. This confidence of the monarch was completely justified at the time of a famine which desolated Novogorod, when the metropolitan built four alms-houses and daily fed all the poor among the people in his own court-yard. It was justified still more in the midst of a dreadful insurrection which broke out in Novogorod and Pskoff. On this occasion the pastoral virtues of Nikon shone in full brilliancy, for while in Pskoff the irritated populace put to death their voivodes, and were with difficulty got under by force of arms, in Novogorod on the contrary the metropolitan was the only person who suffered. He concealed in his palace the prince Khilkoff the voivode, and went forth himself to the insurgent populace[2]; blows were showered thick upon him while thus desperately

exposing himself, and he was left for dead on the square. He managed to rise however with the assistance of his servants, though with scarce any breath remaining in him, and in spite of all that his body had suffered his spirit supplied him with strength to walk in procession with the cross, and to celebrate the liturgy in that part of the city where the insurrection was raging: he was not even afraid to risk his life once more by going into the very building where the rebels were assembled. The magnanimous spirit of their pastor this time struck the rebels themselves, though they did not cease to act against the government: they cut off and blockaded the road leading to the capital, and made a convention with the Swedes to betray Novogorod into their hands. But here again Nikon succeeded in giving such information to the Tsar as enabled him to take the necessary measures of precaution, while he himself publicly in the cathedral anathematized the traitors, and then calmly awaited the conclusion of the storm. The storm at length subsided broken by his immoveable firmness, and he had the consolation of seeing the people in penitence apply to him for spiritual absolution and for the pardon of the Tsar, who had given the metropolitan absolute powers for the trial and punishment of the guilty.

Such were the acts of Nikon in his diocese, in civil affairs, while his pastoral zeal for the morals of his clergy and flock and for the due magnificence of the ceremonies of the Church was carried to the highest pitch. Gifted with a fluent eloquence Nikon constantly taught in the Church, and to hear his animated preaching full of the holy scripture the people thronged together from great distances. He substituted living addresses of his own for the reading of the select instructions appointed for each day; he also turned his attention to the Church-plate, furniture, and vestments, in which he loved cleanliness and magnificence, that they might become their high uses: he regulated also the order of divine service itself, for through an evil habit which had crept in those who ministered in divine service for the sake of expedition read at once in both the choirs, two or three voices only together. The Kathisms

CHAP. X.

and Kanons[3] for Vigil, and even at the Liturgy the Ectenias and Exclamations, were run together with the singing of the choir. The metropolitan strictly forbade such irregularity in all the churches of his diocese, and the same was put a stop to in the other dioceses also by edicts of the Tsar issued at the advice of Nikon. He appointed also instead of the inharmonious singing then in use another of a sweeter kind, which he borrowed from the ancient chants of Kieff and Greece. The Tsar was so much pleased with this new style of singing that he introduced it into his own private chapel, from whence it soon began to spread to other churches and monasteries.

The aged Patriarch Joseph viewed with dissatisfaction these ecclesiastical regulations of Nikon, and considered them as mere innovations, from a weakness not unnatural in a very old man who was standing on the brink of the grave. Many of the clergy who surrounded him, the arch-priest Abbakum, the priests Lazarus and Niketas, Stephen the confessor of the Tsar, the two Neronoffs, the deacon Theodore and his brother Gregory, supported the old man in his most unfortunate prejudice, and abused his confidence in the printing of the Psalter, the Kormchay, and the Catechism, disfiguring them by gross errors and unauthorized glosses of their own. This they did the more easily, as the chief of the Palace-Court where the printing was carried on, the Prince Lvoff, was of the same sentiments with themselves. Many of the unlearned speedily began to be infected with their erroneous views, though according to the testimony of a contemporary writer, Ignatius metropolitan of Tobolsk, the older and more learned people refused to receive their new and false doctrines. In the mean time, the indispensable necessity of a correction of the Church books came to be so evident and so much felt, and the demand for increased learning among the clergy gained such strength, that the Tsar begged Silvester Kossoff the metropolitan of Kieff to send him some monks from his illustrious Academy, to compare the Slavonic translation of the Bible which had been printed incorrectly by the Prince

of Ostrog, with the Greek. A private individual emulated the Tsar in his zeal: Theodore Rtischeff, a pious and learned boyar, founded near Moscow the convent of the Transfiguration, the germ of the future Academy, to consist of thirty brethren being monks whom he had collected in Little Russia for the translation of ecclesiastical books. Epiphanius Slavenetsky, priest and monk of the Pechersky at Kieff, the most celebrated theologian of his time, was one of the learned brotherhood of this convent, and under his direction were published many lives and discourses of the holy Fathers, and all the Canons of the Councils were translated from the Greek.

Nor was it only with Kieff and Little Russia that our ecclesiastical relations became closer and more frequent, but the same was the case also with the East. When Paisius the patriarch of Jerusalem left Moscow, Arsenius Souchanoff, the bursar of the Trinity monastery, was sent with him to the Holy Places of the East, to observe how the Rule of the Church was followed by the four Œcumenical Thrones, inasmuch as there had arisen differences of opinion and disputes about certain ceremonies. Arsenius returned twice from Moldavia from the patriarch of Jerusalem to the Tsar and to the Hetman of the Cossacks, on business which related to the pretender who had appeared among them. At length he left Paisius, and met at Galats another Greek pontiff, Athanasius Chartularius, who had sat for a short time in the chair of Constantinople. This Athanasius after having been graciously received in Moscow died on the road as he was returning, at Loubni, where his uncorrupted body still lies. On account of the fierce persecutions under which the Church of Constantinople was then suffering and the unhappy end of the patriarch Parthenius, Souchanoff was unable to see his successor; but in Alexandria he conferred with the learned patriarch Joannicius, and obtained from him an answer to a great number of questions relative to the Church. In Jerusalem he observed and described minutely the whole order of Divine service among the Greeks, and returned through

CHAP. X. Damascus, where he had an interview with the patriarch of Antioch, and from thence through Georgia. Thus he gave in the description of his journey a sufficiently full account of the Eastern Church, though somewhat shaded by his prejudiced view of the Greek character, and by mistakes in some of his observations. Arsenius returned in the last year of the life of the Patriarch Joseph, when the self-willed priests about him who were dissatisfied with Nikon were already introducing evident schisms. They took advantage of some disagreeable observations of Arsenius, to rise in opposition against the metropolitan of Novogorod, under the pretext that he desired to conform in every respect with the Greek Church, while that Church herself had not retained her ancient orthodoxy. Thus by degrees there gathered clouds on the horizon of the Church.

At this time the relics of St. Sabba of Zvenigorod, the disciple of the venerable Sergius, were discovered, and the Tsar in joy and gratitude at their manifestation convoked soon afterwards by the advice of Nikon a synod, for the purpose of instituting a solemn commemoration in honour of the three great prelates who had suffered for the Russian Church, Job, Hermogenes, and the Holy Metropolitan Philip; that from their tombs near and afar off they might be brought together and united with the assembly of prelates in that cathedral of the Assumption, where they had shone conspicuous by their pastoral virtues. The Tsar Michael Theodorovich, had paid this last duty to his predecessor the Tsar Shouesky, whose remains were restored to him from their grave in Poland to be deposited in the cathedral of the Archangel; his son Michael did the same for these three prelates. The body of the great Hermogenes was solemnly translated from the Choudoff monastery to his own cathedral, and was placed above the floor close to the brazen tabernacle of the Coat of our Lord. The aged Barlaam metropolitan of Rostoff was sent to Starits for the relics of Job; the patriarch Joseph himself, feeling already the near approach of death, when he placed the first of the line of patriarchs, Job, close

to his own predecessor Joasaph, asked the Tsar to give him a place himself at the feet of Job; and after a few days this his last wish was fulfilled.

In the mean time the Metropolitan Nikon, who had formerly been a monk there himself, had been despatched to the Solovetsky monastery on a mission of entreaty from the Tsar to the relics of Philip, that that great prelate would remove from the place of his rest, and come to the capital to absolve as it were by his presence the spirit of John who slept there, and who had been the cause of his martyrdom; this the mild Tsar Alexis besought of him, as if pleading to a living man for a living offender; and Philip removed, at his request, and again came over the waters of the White sea, which he had already passed over once before in his coffin, as in a funereal boat. Nikon was the steersman, and he again put in at the desert island of Kia, and the mouth of the Onega, where he had formerly been saved when he got to land from his leaky vessel, and from thence he directed his course to the convent of Bielo-ozero. Informing the Tsar from time to time of his progress, Nikon continued his way by water from the convent of St. Cyrill to Yaroslavla, and by land from thence to the Lavra. He had then no presentiment that thirty years later he himself, after having experienced all the inconstancy of human fortune the highest step of grandeur and the lowest depth of poverty, was to return an exile and a prisoner by that same road to the convent of the new Jerusalem, alive as far as Yaroslavla, and the remainder of the way after death. The young Tsar and Barlaam the aged and decrepit metropolitan of Rostoff hastened to meet the relics of St. Philip at the gates of the capital, but Barlaam gave way and died before he reached them, from the weight of years and excessive joy. Many signs of healing marked the solemn return of Philip to his former ecclesiastical diocese; he stood as it were again, though in his coffin, on the same spot from whence he had rebuked John, and they who were suffering from any plague or disease, as before they who were oppressed, now flocked to him as to a living fountain of relief.

CHAP. X.

It seemed as if Philip from his patriarchal chair again ruled the Church of all Russia, there being at that time no other head: the Patriarch Joseph and the guardian of the vacant see, the metropolitan of Rostoff, were both dead. The senior prelate of all the rest, Nikon of Novogorod, obstinately refused the patriarchal throne in spite of all the entreaties of the Tsar, by whom he was beloved, and whom he loved himself. He knew that those who had been about the person of Joseph, and a strong party among the clergy, looked on him as a despiser of Russian antiquity, from his attachment to the Eastern Church. He saw the affection of the Tsar, but he knew also how great an influence the boyars who surrounded him possessed over the mild disposition of their sovereign. And the austere character of Nikon, who trusted in the purity of his intentions, was unhappily too little tempered with pastoral condescendence and long-suffering. All this he was conscious of himself when he so firmly rejected all entreaties, but the Tsar's affection for him prevailed. In the church of the Assumption and before the relics of Philip, with all the council and the synod assembled, he once more for the last time and in the strongest terms conjured Nikon not to leave the Church of Russia in widowhood without a pastor, and the firmness of the prelate was shaken at such an appeal; he asked, "Whether they would always honour him as their true chief shepherd and spiritual father? and whether they would suffer him to regulate the affairs of the Church?" And when he had heard them all as with one soul swear that they would, he declared at length his consent to undertake the high office, to the general joy of the Tsar, the council, and the people, and thus pronounced against himself the sentence of his own doom.

CHAP. XI.

THE PATRIARCHS.

VI. NIKON.

The six years of the patriarchal rule of Nikon formed the most brilliant period of the reign of Alexis; the genius and enterprising character of that prelate inspired the councils of the Tsar, and were reflected in the glory of his victories over the neighbouring powers; but the years which he had passed in the exercises of the monastic cell and in the chair of Novogorod were the best time of his life; in the cares of civil government he lost his own inward peace of mind. One thing only was there to console Nikon, and that was the true mutual affection subsisting between himself and his sovereign, which possessed them both to such a degree, that they appeared as one and the same person in all acts of government, passing all their days together in the church, in the council chamber, and at the friendly board. To unite themselves still closer by the bonds of spiritual relationship, the patriarch became the godfather of all the children of his sovereign, and they both made a mutual vow never to desert each other on this side the grave. And indeed this was the most affecting circumstance of all in the fortunes of both of them, that even in the time of those long-continued troubles which were raised between them by the envy of men who wished them ill, they preserved in their hearts to the very last moment this tender friendship; and there was nothing which the courtiers so much dreaded as the chance of a personal meeting between them.

The correction of the Church books was the first and permanent object of the patriarch's attention. This work had

CHAP. XI.

been proposed as early as the time of John the Terrible, in the Hundred Chapter Council, but had been laid aside, together with many other useful undertakings, in the dark years of his mental malady; it was afterwards returned to under Theodore, when the Church books were printed, though very imperfectly, and was again interrupted by the troubles of the pretenders. The Tsar Michael Theodorovich and the patriarch his father shewed an equal sense of the indispensable necessity of this, when they gradually corrected the Directories and the Office-books, after having detected the errors which had crept into them from transcribers and printers. But to put the last hand to the work required men more learned and better minded than had been those priests and deacons who had been employed to print the books under Joseph. When the Patriarch Nikon, under whom the Kormchay or Nomocanon which they had printed was published, perceived, although too late to correct them, all the gross artifices of its unprincipled editors, especially respecting the position of the fingers in making the sign of the Cross, he inflicted on them a severe punishment, and so increased the number of his enemies.

The correction of the books by a synod was thus effected. Soon after his appointment, Nikon, in examining the confirmatory letters of the Patriarch Jeremiah and the Greek Council on the appointment of the first Patriarch Job, read in them with alarm what a condemnation was incurred by every innovation in Church matters contrary to the canons of the Holy Fathers. He also read on an ancient Sakkos or Vestment which had belonged to Photius, sometime metropolitan of all Russia, and which had been brought from Greece two hundred and fifty years before, a copy of the Creed worked in pearls, and on examining the same Creed as it then stood in the printed books as well as the order of the Liturgy, he was shocked to discover that there were discrepancies between them and the earliest copies. He then
1655. entreated the Tsar to convoke a council in his palace, to consult definitively for the correction of the books; and there

assembled the Metropolitans Macarius of Novogorod, Cornelius of Kazan, Jonah of Rostoff, Silvester of the Steeps, Michael of Servia, and the Archbishops Marcellus of Vologda, Sophronius of Souzdal, Michael of Riazan, and the Bishop Paul of Kolomna, who in the end became the head of the schism, and the cause of the condemnation of Nikon himself.

The patriarch made the following proposition to the synod: "Whereas in the new books printed at Moscow there are found many discrepancies from the ancient Greek and Slavonian copies, and these errors have come from the ignorance of transcribers and printers; ought we therefore to prefer the new books to the old ones, which the great divines and teachers of the East and of the whole Church followed, and following them pleased God, which were used by Athanasius and Basil, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Damascene, and by the Russian saints and workers of miracles Peter, Alexis, Jonah, and Philip?" The monarch and the council unanimously replied, "It is meet and right to correct the new books by the old Slavonic and Greek manuscripts, that we may in all things follow the primitive rule of the Church."

Then the Tsar, in conjunction with the patriarch, gave orders to collect together to Moscow the ancient manuscript books which had been translated eight hundred years or more before from the Greek, from the Trinity Lavra and the convents of Novogorod, from the monastery of Joseph of Volokolampsk, and from other places; and in order that not only their own will and pleasure but also the judgment of the Œcumenical patriarchs might have a share in the undertaking, they despatched to Constantinople with letters of enquiry a Greek of ability and learning named Manuel. In accordance with their commendable wishes, Paisius, patriarch of Constantinople, convoked the Greek bishops, and confirmed by a synodal act the decision of the council of Moscow, to follow in all things the orthodox text of the Eastern doctors as it was preserved in the ancient Greek and Slavonic books, and sent a copy of the Nicene Creed to serve as an immutable model to

CHAP. XI.

which not one word should be added, and from which not one word should be taken away.

The brotherly epistle of the patriarch to Nikon respecting the order and mystical significancy of the Liturgy and many other subjects, was filled at once with deep knowledge, a great zeal for orthodoxy, and a fervent pastoral affection. Paisius entreated him not to depart in any respect from the rule of the great Church of Constantinople; that all the five patriarchal thrones, of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Moscow, forming together one Œcumenical Church, should be one not only in doctrines and discipline, but also in their very ceremonies; he proposed the Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila, corrected by all the patriarchs, as an accurate expression of the doctrines of the Eastern Church. But while applauding the zeal of Nikon, he at the same time entreated him to be indulgent to those who had erred not in any essential doctrines of the faith but only in some unimportant external matters, that so he might retain them within the pale of the Church. And it would have been more prudent, had the mild counsel of Paisius been followed; but unfortunately the natural hastiness of Nikon's temper, joined to his ardent zeal for eradicating all that was evil in the Church, carried him beyond the bounds which pastoral long-suffering might have observed.

The Tsar and the patriarch being gratified by the letter of Paisius, sent the Bursar Arsenius Souchanoff a second time with rich alms in quest of ancient manuscripts to the Holy Mountain of Athos, where he collected as many as five hundred Greek books, among which was a copy of the Gospels written 1050 years before. The Œcumenical patriarchs also emulated the monasteries of Athos, and sent by Arsenius two hundred similar manuscripts, which continue to the present day to form the greatest treasure of the Patriarchal Library at Moscow. For the sake of adding greater authority and circumspection to what he did the Patriarch Nikon took the opportunity of the arrival at Moscow of the Patriarchs Macarius of Antioch and Gabriel of Servia[1], and of the

Metropolitans Gregory of Nice and Gideon of Moldavia and Wallachia, to convoke another council, which confirmed the acts of the first in the presence and with the concurrence of the Eastern hierarchs.

Nikon particularly enquired of them respecting the position of the fingers in making the sign of the Cross in the East, and learned from every one of them that "the Orthodox Greek Church from the very beginning down to the present time has always joined together and still joins together to make the sign of the Cross the three first large fingers, as is customary also in the Russian;" he enquired also respecting the differences between the new books printed at Moscow and the ancient Greek and Slavonian copies, differences which had crept in during that dark period, when, from the calamitous state of the East, the Church of Russia was for an hundred and twenty years unable to keep up regular communications with the throne of Constantinople, so as either to receive from thence learned prelates, or send thither her own for institution as before: and both the patriarchs together with the metropolitans approved of the correction of the books.

Upon this decided steps were taken to effect the necessary correction according to the ancient Greek and Slavonian copies; and first of all there was printed at Moscow the Sloujebnik, or Service-book; after which followed others, and a work entitled The Skreejál, that is, The Table, being a spiritual collection of many doctrinal matters compiled out of the writings of the Holy Fathers. But when all these prudent measures of precaution which had guided the council in the act itself of correcting and printing the books ceased, as was the case, to be observed in their introduction into all the churches and monasteries throughout the country, and they began with severity to take away from all the monasteries whatever copies they might possess of the old impression, there immediately arose a murmuring among the people which was taken advantage of by evil-disposed men, for they abusing the ignorance of the simple people called the books of Nikon "the new books," as indeed they were at the time of their

CHAP. XI.

appearance, and fraudulently concealed their perfect agreement with the most ancient copies in the Greek and Slavonic languages; from which on the contrary those which they called "the old books" printed since the erection of the patriarchate had departed. The most active disseminators of such notions were Nikon's personal enemies, the Directory-keepers of the Patriarch Joseph, who had been punished for their corrupted edition of the Nomocanon, the popes Habbakuk, Lazarus, Nicetas, and Stephen, and the two Neronoffs named Gregory and Theodore, deacons, who became the sowers of schisms. Thus did a most excellent and useful undertaking become the cause of unexpected disturbances.

The same energy, which suddenly began to shew itself from the time of the elevation of Nikon to the patriarchal throne in the government of the Church, manifested itself also simultaneously in the affairs of the State, and its first brilliant effect was the reunion of Little Russia. This had long before been ardently desired by the Hetman Kmelnitsky, but the cautious policy of the court of Moscow had kept Russia still confined within those limits to which she had been reduced by the wars of the pretenders and the weakness of the new government under Michael. In the mean time the pride of Poland had proportionally increased, and was mortifying to our Tsars, whom she barely recognised, and that too without giving them their proper title. The miseries of the Ukraine increased, and it was subjected to every kind of persecution, on account of its orthodoxy and spirit of nationality. But in the mean time, without reckoning the force of the horde beyond the Falls, numerous villages of the Cossacks, who were divided into regiments under the command of their chiefs and their hetman, could send into the field a body of 60,000 of the best cavalry. Bogdan Kmelitsky was the soul of all the Ukraine. Never vanquished himself in any of his numerous engagements, he surrounded the camp of the King John Casimir himself, under Sboroff, and dictated to him conditions, tending to the independence of Little Russia, and the free exercise of her religion. The fixing of the army

of the Cossacks at 40,000, the grant of a seat in the Polish Senate to the metropolitan of Kieff, the removal of the schools of the Jesuits from Kieff, and of the Jews from the villages of the Ukraine, were the most important articles of this treaty: for to such a point had the persecutions caused by the Unia proceeded, that the office of supplying wine and oblations for the Liturgies of the Orthodox was actually let out by contract to the Jews. But the hetman in his turn was betrayed by his allies of the Crimea, and left at the mercy of the king, from whom he was compelled to accept very hard conditions near the town of Bielay-Tserkoff or Whitechurch; and so seeing that there was no longer any security to be looked for on the side of Poland, he began to draw closer to Russia.

He began by obtaining permission for the Cossacks to settle on the left bank of the Dnieper, within the Russian frontiers, and he organized there five new regiments with all the privileges of the other fifteen regiments of the Ukraine. At length, on the Polish commanders making a movement as if to attack him, he took refuge with the whole strength of the Horde beyond the Falls under the powerful protection of the Tsar; and in a letter to the Patriarch Nikon, in which he proposed certain terms of subjection, he petitioned him to unite the Ukraine to Russia. A council of the spiritual and secular orders was assembled in the palace of the Kremlin. The sovereign determined before he took up arms, to demand satisfaction once more from the king of Poland: he offered his mediation for the protection of Orthodoxy; but the peaceful propositions of the ambassadors of the Tsar, were haughtily rejected by the Polish government, and war was declared, while the Ukraine was received for ever into subjection to Russia.

The Voivode Boutourlin was sent to the hetman for the completion of this important affair, which did not cost Russia so much as one single drop of blood. Kmelnitsky, who was at the summit of his glory and respected both by the Khan of the Crimea and by the Sultan, having compelled the hos-

CHAP. XI.

podar of Moldavia to give his daughter in marriage to his son, asked the army of Little Russia in Pereyaslavla, to whom they would wish to belong; "to the unbelieving Khan or Sultan, to the Latin King or to the Orthodox Tsar?" and having heard them answer with a shout as one man, "We wish to be under the Orthodox Tsar;" he took the oath of allegiance together with the whole of the Ukraine. The free election of their hetman by the Cossacks, with the privilege of having their own separate courts among themselves, and the fixing their army at 60,000 men, were the principal conditions. But in Kieff, the Metropolitan Silvester Kossoff, and the archimandrite of the Pechersky Innocentius Gizel, did not readily bring themselves to exchange their ancient dependence which was merely nominal upon the See of Constantinople for a real subjection to the patriarch of Moscow; however, after a short time, the same archimandrite was sent by the metropolitan to Moscow to obtain the recognition and confirmation of the rights of the clergy of Little Russia: by the prudent policy of Nikon he was received in a flattering manner and dismissed with presents; the complete union and amalgamation however of the metropolitan see of Kieff did not take place till thirty years afterwards.

The Polish war began at the commencement of the year 1654; the Tsar himself accompanied his army, having left both his own family and the kingdom itself in the charge of the patriarch; the Boyars of the Council were permitted to do nothing without his advice. Never before had the Russian arms been covered with so much glory as they were in this short and brilliant campaign. The Cossacks co-operated with the Tsar in the capture of Smolensk, his ancient patrimony, and after it thirty of the most important towns of White Russia surrendered themselves to him one after the other. Polotsk, at the persuasion of her eloquent Hegumen Ignatius, opened her gates to a sovereign of the same religion with her own. But in the midst of these splendid victories, the Tsar was afflicted by the arrival of intelligence that a dreadful pestilence had broken out and was raging in Moscow and its

neighbourhood, which filled the capital with dead bodies, so that there were not hands to bury them. The patriarch calmed in some degree the agitation of the people by a pastoral letter, and recommending them to take certain measures of precaution against the plague, occupied himself with the care of the royal family, which had been entrusted to his charge. He moved with them from one monastery to another, and satisfied himself personally that the places where they were to stop were free from danger, and at length had the satisfaction of restoring in safety to his sovereign at Viasma all that was dearest to his heart. The grateful Alexis in the affectionate emotion of his joy bestowed on Nikon the appellation of Great Lord, as his own grandfather the Patriarch Philaret had formerly been styled; and notwithstanding Nikon's opposition ordered this title to be written in all the Acts of the kingdom, which was afterwards turned against him as a matter of accusation, although he himself would never allow that exalted title to be given him in the Church.

During the short stay of the Tsar, the patriarchs of Antioch and Servia visited the capital for the correction of the books, as did also ambassadors with proposals of friendship from Charles X. the new king of Sweden, who was himself at war with Poland. But the court of Moscow through the artful persuasions of Austria alienated itself from Sweden, and thus committed a capital error in policy. This false step was partly caused by the unfortunate advice of Nikon, who being still at that time metropolitan of Novogorod, ardently desired to recover from Sweden our ancient provinces of Ingria and Carelia, with all their numerous churches and monasteries, which had been wrested away from Russia during the calamitous period of the vacancy of the throne. Dazzled by the rapid course of success which had united Little and White Russia, he thought the day was come for recovering all our losses; and in truth, this was the most brilliant moment of the reign of Alexis, a moment which might well recall to mind the best times of Russia before the pretenders.

CHAP. XI.

At the same time the adventurous Ataman Kabaroff fought with the Daours on the banks of the Amoor, and descended its course to the Eastern ocean, subjecting the remotest bounds of Siberia to the Russian Tsar; and our first embassy penetrated to Pekin to the court of Bogdi-Khan, the emperor of China, who was equally astonished at the existence and power of Russia. The hordes of the Kalmouks who wandered over the boundless Steppes of Astrachan became subject to Russia; and Stephen, the hospodar of Moldavia, like the hetman of the Ukraine, asked the Tsar to receive him under his high protection, while all the neighbouring powers sought for his alliance. Alexis' second Polish campaign covered him with fresh glory. Grodno and Kovno fell before the Russian arms, which extended our empire almost to its present limits; and Wilna itself, the capital of Lithuania, which had from of old been so hostile to us, witnessed the triumphant entry of the victorious Tsar. Poland was struck with terror to find herself deprived of all her capitals, for Warsaw and Cracow had fallen before the warlike king of Sweden; the unfortunate John Kasimir fled for protection to the Roman empire.

Then it was that the crafty influence of the Austrian envoy, the Jesuit Allegretti, had its effect, and a truce was concluded with Poland, which ceded all the conquered places till a lasting peace should be concluded, solely for the purpose of turning our arms against our Swedish allies. To draw the Tsar still further into this ruinous war, they offered him the crown of Poland, and he was even solemnly proclaimed in the Diet, as the heir to John Kasimir. Seduced by this artful policy, the Tsar suddenly directed his army upon Swedish Livonia, and that movement was the turning point of his military fortune. Dinabourg and some other fortresses were taken by storm, but when he assaulted the strong town of Riga, the Tsar met with a repulse which cooled his love for martial exploits. He returned to Polotsk, and thence to the capital. There he met again his family a second time preserved safe by the care of Nikon from the infection of the

plague, which had raged without intermission during the whole period of the campaign, breaking out afresh in a dreadful manner at different places. In the mean time the useless war with Sweden was continued for two years with varying fortune on the part of our leaders, and it was only by the prudence of Ordin Naschokin, deputy of Livonia, that this conquered province was preserved to Russia. In the mean time died the brave General Boutourlin, who, together with the son of the hetman, had ravaged the southern frontiers of Poland. Bogdan Kmelnitsky also, the great author of the deliverance of Little Russia, died almost immediately after 1657.
Silvester Kossoff metropolitan of Kieff, and in consequence of this loss the whole of the Ukraine was for many years exposed to anarchy, treason, and bloodshed.

At the same time that the external affairs of the kingdom had taken such an unfavourable turn, there arose within its bosom a disturbance injurious to the interests of the Church, with reference to the Patriarch Nikon. During the two years' absence of the Tsar, he had been a strict governor, and had regulated the affairs of the kingdom authoritatively not as the chief prelate but as the friend of his sovereign, whose unlimited confidence he enjoyed. This had roused the hatred and envy of the boyars of the first rank who were related to the crown, the Morozoffs, Miloslafskys, and Streshneffs, and of the Princes Troubetskoy, Dolgorouky, Odoefsky, and Romodanofsky. The Tsaritsa herself was secretly ill-disposed towards him, either from her relationship to the Miloslafskys, or from jealousy of his influence over her husband. Those nobles who were kept down and thrown into the shade by the splendour of Nikon's genius, could not endure with patience to see him exercise the sole authority in the Assembly of the Boyars, and in the Tsar's Council. Nikon, on the other side, from the natural stiffness of his character, was ever deepening the offence which they took by the roughness and arbitrariness with which he acted, and by making them feel too much his superiority. Macarius the patriarch of Antioch, who in his two visits[2] to Russia was witness both of the pros-

CHAP. XI.

perity and of the fall of this illustrious man, has written an account of his life and administration during the absence of the Tsar Alexis.

Nikon, although weighed down with the whole burden of the civil affairs of the empire, still continued to be the strict monk on the patriarchal throne, observing all the services of the Church, and that too with so much zeal for the instruction of the clergy, that during the Liturgy he always had by him some one or other of the oldest copies of the Office-Book, with which he compared the ceremonies and the prayers. He shewed himself to the people only in the church, and in the short passage from his apartments to the cathedral of the Assumption he was used to receive petitions, which he either decided on the spot, or the next day. In the morning at a fixed hour on the ringing of a bell the boyars charged with the administration of the government assembled in the Cross-Room[3] in the palace. The patriarch came out to them and decided on the business submitted to him standing; but if any one came too late for this audience he had to wait for some hours in his antichamber. On one occasion when certain of the boyars returning from the Polish campaign, had brought with them some Icons of Latin device, and put up organs in their houses, the patriarch ordered both the one and the other to be taken away from them and to be committed to the flames, as things inconsistent with Orthodoxy; and he himself rebuked them aloud in the cathedral in the presence of the sovereign, calling each one by his name.

The patriarch was not less hard upon the clergy. Having himself passed through all its ranks and conditions, having been a novice in a monastery, parish priest for two years in a country village and in the capital, then again for a long time monk and recluse in a wild solitude, hegumen in a poor and lone convent, archimandrite of a rich monastery, metropolitan of the first diocese, and last of all patriarch, he had experienced all that a spiritual person can experience, and having shewn in every station a strict pattern of good conduct he exacted the same with equal strictness from all who were

under his authority. He severely punished intemperance, according to the custom of those times with stripes and imprisonment, not sparing even his own confessor. Nikon required also, as far as it was possible, that those who came to him to be ordained either as Deacons or Priests, should have received some degree of education, at the least that they should be able to read and write, and he never ordained in his own patriarchal diocese any one whom he had not first personally examined in reading; and this too appeared at that time a very oppressive measure. But above all, he was remarkable for his severity in punishing every violation of ecclesiastical order; he was not content with bringing to punishment those evil-minded men Habbakuk, Lazarus, Nicetas, and the Neronoffs, but pursued with his anger also Paul of Kolomna, as soon as he observed that this bishop after having given his assent to the vote of the Synod for the correction of the books, was openly doing all he could to prevent its being carried into effect. The patriarch deprived him by his own authority of his bishopric, and confined him in a monastery, without any trial by other bishops, and thus exposed himself to the accusation of having violated the Canons of the Councils, which order that every bishop should have a regular trial. The superior clergy were irritated by this conduct, and endured it only for the time; they had already long ago been mortified at the extraordinary grandeur of Nikon, a grandeur which seemed only proper for Philaret, as the father of the Tsar, but which excited the envy of his equals against a man of obscure extraction. Those who were nearest to the person of the patriarch, were at the same time also his bitterest enemies, Pitirim, metropolitan of Sarai, the vicar of his ecclesiastical province, and Paul, archimandrite of the Choudoff monastery, who eventually succeeded to the place of Pitirim, when the latter was translated to the metropolitan see of Novogorod; also Hilarion archbishop of Riazan, and others, although they had all been ordained by the patriarch himself.

There was only one man who sincerely loved Nikon, from

CHAP. XI.

the recollection of his services and his unchangeable affection, and that man was the mild Tsar Alexis, and to him alone was the patriarch devoted with all his soul, and was zealous even to excess for his glory. He could not see with patience the influence which the boyars about his person exercised over him, and they at length by their intrigues attained the end they wished for, in estranging the monarch from him. The Tsar's two years' absence taught him to do without the constant advice of the patriarch; the unsuccessful Swedish campaign, after the brilliant successes in Lithuania, inspired an involuntary feeling against the untoward counsel which had prompted that war, and on his return, the general outcry of the boyars and clergy against the self-willed absolutism of Nikon contributed still more to cool the affections of the Tsar. The patriarch soon remarked this. Their daily friendly intercourse at table and their frequent private consultations were discontinued. Some ecclesiastical dispositions made by Nikon were set aside by the Tsar. Thus by an oukáz, the monastery of the Epiphany at Polotsk which the patriarch had declared a Stauropegia, that is, to depend from henceforth immediately on himself alone, was suddenly taken away from him and placed under the jurisdiction of Callistus, who had been consecrated bishop of the diocese of Polotsk.

In the mean time, the Monastery-Court, which had remained inoperative during the powerful administration of Nikon, began already gradually to judge in causes affecting spiritual persons, and their landed properties, and sometimes questions were raised about the properties themselves when they had been acquired contrary to the edicts of John, and the Council of the Boyars began to act with more decision, grounding themselves upon that constitution. Nikon was not of a character to yield to men with whom he had not been accustomed even to divide the confidence of the Tsar. He expressed himself in terms of indignation at the new state of affairs, and still hoped and expected to regain the attention of his sovereign; but the nobles, knowing the sensitiveness of his disposition, fed it with repeated personal insults.

Every thing was prepared for a complete rupture, they only waited for a convenient opportunity.

Perceiving the loss of his former influence in the affairs of the State and even in those of the Church, Nikon could no longer endure to occupy himself with them under the control of others, and began to meditate his own retirement. With this view he diligently employed himself in building three convents, the Krestnoy, Iversky, and Voskresensky, which he founded in memory of the three most remarkable epochs of his life,—his having been a hermit at Solovetsky, metropolitan of Novogorod, and patriarch of all the Russias. He seemed to feel ashamed of his own degradation in the capital, and passed his time at a distance from it in monastic labours, while his enemies took advantage of his absence to procure his entire removal. Still however the affectionate heart of the Tsar drew him even in spite of himself into the company of the man who had once been his only friend, and their mutual feelings were touchingly displayed, for the last time, at the consecration of the wooden church of the new convent of Voskresensk, that is, of the Resurrection. The Tsar, looking down from the hill now called the Mount of Olives[4] on the picturesque view which surrounded him, remarked to the patriarch, that God seemed from the beginning to have prepared this as a site for a monastery, "for," said he, "it is as beautiful as Jerusalem itself." Nikon, whose heart was moved at that name, gratified the Tsar by calling the whole convent New Jerusalem, and charged the bursar, Arsenius Souchanoff, who was then travelling in the East for the collection of manuscripts, to bring him a model[5] of the Holy Sepulchre, after the pattern of which he immediately laid the foundations of a large stone church.

About a year passed, and in the mean time calumnies and dissatisfactions increased; the Tsar, who was quite in the hands of the boyars, rarely had an interview with the patriarch, and even ceased to attend at the cathedral when he officiated; the courtiers insolently railed at him, and one of them, Streshneff, even dared to call his dog by the patri-

CHAP. XI.

arch's name. A free and ingenuous explanation between the Tsar and the prelate was the only thing which might still perhaps have extinguished the dissensions that had been kindled and blown into a flame; but when once a mutual misunderstanding is established between those who have before loved each other, the very recollection of their former friendship poisons the wounds of their hearts, because the change itself in their mutual relations is felt as a sort of wrong and offence by both.

1638. At length the occasion arrived for a complete rupture. Teymouraz, Tsar of Georgia, harassed at once by the civil discords of his own people and by the invasions of the Persians and Turks, came in person to seek for protection from the powerful Tsar of Russia, and was received by Alexis with great pomp. The patriarch also quitted his retirement, in order to increase by his presence the splendour of the reception. When the meeting with Teymouraz took place, an attendant of the Tsar, named Khitroff, in clearing the way for him, struck one of the patriarch's boyars, and repeated the blow with terms of abuse. Nikon, incensed at this, demanded satisfaction, but through the intrigues of the boyars was put off without receiving it; he reckoned on coming to a personal explanation with the Tsar in the church on the festival of the Robe of Christ; but contrary to his usual custom, the Tsar was withheld from leaving the palace, and the prince Romodanofsky, having gone to the cathedral to inform the patriarch of this circumstance, began to reproach him for his pride on account of the title of Great Lord.

At this Nikon lost all patience, and gave himself up to his indignation: when he had finished the Liturgy, he declared to all the people that his unworthiness was the cause of all the wars and pestilences, and of all the disorders of the kingdom: he then placed the staff of Peter the Thaumaturge on the Icon of the Blessed Virgin which had been brought from Vladimir, and declared with a loud voice that from thenceforth he was no longer patriarch of Moscow; he took off his episcopal

robes, notwithstanding the entreaties of the clergy and the people, put on a common monk's mantle, and having written in the vestry a letter to the Tsar advertising him of his abdication of the patriarchal throne, he sat down on the steps of the Ambon and awaited the answer. The monarch was troubled and sent the prince Troubetskoy, to exhort him to remain, but this prince also was in the number of his enemies. The people wept and kept the doors of the cathedral shut, but Nikon remained inflexible, and refusing to return any more into the patriarchal lodgings, went out of the Kremlin on foot to the town house of the Iversky monastery, and from thence without waiting for any permission from the Tsar he proceeded to the monastery of the Resurrection, and refused to make use of the carriage that had been sent for him. Prince Troubeskoy went again after him to that monastery, to enquire in the name of the Tsar the reason of his departure. Nikon answered, that he sought for quiet for the sake of his soul's health, again renounced the patriarchate, and asked only to be permitted to retain his three monasteries the Voskresensky, Iversky and Krestnoy, gave his benediction to Pitirim the metropolitan of the Steeps, to direct the affairs of the Church, and lastly, in a touching letter humbly begged the Christian forgiveness of the Tsar for his sudden departure from the capital.

A report of an invasion of the Crimeans again turned upon the patriarch the thoughts of the Tsar, who was alarmed at the danger to which he was exposed in the undefended monastery of Voskresensk. He sent to him one of his own personal attendants with the proposition that he should retire while the invasion lasted to the fortified monastery of Macarius Koliazinsky. Nikon took this as an announcement that he was to be imprisoned, and replied to the messenger that there was another place in Moscow quite as well suited for the purpose, and where he would be even more secure, close to the monastery of the Conception, meaning the city prison. He went himself straight to the capital, where however it was three days before he could gain admission to an interview

CHAP. XI.

with the Tsar, and that only in the presence of the boyars or of the Tsaritsa, after which he returned back to his own monastery. But a return of peace and calm after the storm while Nikon was within so short a distance of the court, might have been dangerous to his enemies; they therefore adopted new measures for irritating him. His secret archives in the patriarchal palace were suddenly broken open, and Nikon bitterly complained in a letter to the Tsar of this violation not only of his own private secrets and those of the state which were in his keeping, but also of others which his spiritual children had entrusted to him as to their pastor, for the relief of their consciences. He ascribed this proceeding to a wish to get out of his possession all the letters he had received from the Tsar, in which he was styled Great Lord, and testifying at the same time that he had always refused this pompous and for him unsuitable title, he entreated that the Tsar's wrath might be appeased. Some short time after this the presumption of the metropolitan Pitirim, who assumed all the rights of the Patriarch, and even personated him in performing the ceremonies of Palm Sunday, and in the customary procession on an ass round the city, again provoked Nikon; he was not yet able to divest himself of the idea that he was still patriarch, and had already discovered in his vicar a personal enemy. He removed farther from the capital to the White sea, to the Krestnoy monastery, where he passed more than a year in ascetic exercises.

In the mean time the affairs of the Church could not be left in such a state of disorder. Alexis convoked in the capital a council of the Russian bishops and of some Greek prelates who happened to be there, to come to some decision on the actions of the patriarch; and in the mean time, he sent an officer of the Table named Poushkin to him to the White sea to desire of him to give them a definitive permission to choose another patriarch. Nikon, though he confirmed his own former abdication, yet feared the power his enemy might have if he were to succeed him, and in consequence would give no permission to others to proceed to a new

election or consecration, but reserved that right exclusively to himself. He well knew the men who were to be his judges, for in their Synod all the rancour which they had treasured up against him had abundantly displayed itself. The metropolitan of the Steeps endeavoured to prove by a number of witnesses that the patriarch had broken off without finishing the Liturgy, and had left his throne with an oath that he would never return to it, which was contradicted by the testimony of Michael, metropolitan of Servia, and of others who were present at the time but heard no such oath at all. Even the Greek strangers shewed themselves hostile to Nikon, and Cyrill archbishop of Cyprus maintained that for the fault he had committed he ought to be deprived of all the properties bestowed upon him by the sovereign, and that it was not fitting to entrust monasteries to the government of prelates who had retired from their episcopal duties for the sake of repose, although this practice is a regular custom in the Eastern Church. Another of the Greeks reproached Nikon with the insolence of Haman: all agreed unanimously not only to his deposition from the patriarchal throne, but even to his degradation from the episcopal dignity, because he had of his own will quitted his diocese, and they endeavoured to confirm this decision by extracts from the Canons of the Councils. Only two but they eloquent defenders took Nikon's part in the council: the one Epiphanius Slavenetsky, a learned monk and priest of the Pechersky monastery, who had transcribed all the acts of the councils, and who declared that he had never found any canon of the Church to deprive a bishop who resigned his see of his orders; the other, who was Ignatius archimandrite of Polotsk, contended in opposition to the decision of the council for the election of a new patriarch, that the Russian bishops had not the right to judge their own primate without the concurrence of the Eastern patriarchs, and his voice reached the heart of the mild Tsar, who was unwilling to take upon himself the condemnation of Nikon. CHAP. XI.

In the midst of circumstances of so much difficulty and

CHAP. XI.

disorder, there came to the capital a Greek prelate named Paisius Ligarides, who had formerly been metropolitan of Gaza, and who had been long wandering about Italy and Greece without a diocese. This man the patriarch Nikon himself had three years before invited from Moldavia, little foreseeing that he was to find in him a bitter enemy. Paisius brought letters from Parthenius patriarch of Constantinople, recommending him as a person well versed in all that related to the discipline and offices of the Church, and qualified to examine the conduct of Nikon. Ligarides was favourably received by the Tsar and boyars, took the side of the enemies of Nikon, and was made president of the Synod, which continued to sit and govern the Church during the absence of the patriarch.

Nikon again returned from the Krestnoy monastery to Voskresensk, that he might be nearer at hand to watch the proceedings of the Synod. At first, he was well pleased at the arrival of Paisius, who had formerly been kindly treated by him, and wrote him a letter of complaint, stating all his grievances, but he soon found out his mistake. He then made application by means of a similar letter to Dionysius the new patriarch of Constantinople, relating to him as to a brother all that he had done from his very first accession to the patriarchate, and all the injuries and insults he had suffered; but this letter was intercepted, and served only as a fresh ground of accusation against him. The Boyar Streshneff, one of the most virulent enemies of the patriarch, laid before Paisius thirty questions artfully prepared on purpose with reference to Nikon's conduct, and Ligarides wrote him answers condemnatory of it grounded upon the Canons. Nikon was provoked at this, and composed in his own defence a reply at length to the questions and answers of them both, in which, together with a deep knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, he freely manifested the indignation which swelled within his breast. In the mean time, Paisius, who was the instrument and channel of all relations between the Tsar and Synod and the Eastern patriarchs, sent them

twenty-five similar questions, concerning the limits of the royal and patriarchal authorities, and the conduct, and trial of Nikon, not naming him, but only laying before them certain cases for their decision; and, agreeably to the spirit of these questions, the answers of the four patriarchs, procured through a secretary of the Tsar in Constantinople, were all in favour of the Synod. Nectarius of Jerusalem alone, though he had given his signature to the common document, wrote a separate letter on his own account, to entreat the Tsar to bear in mind the former services of Nikon, and graciously to restore him to the patriarchal throne, in order to put an end to all dissension and scandal.

Great, indeed, was the scandal in the Church of Russia, arising from this long dissension, and the enemies of Orthodoxy rejoiced at it. On the one side, Paisius and those members of the clergy who were hostile to Nikon, acting irresponsibly and doing many things to gratify the boyars in the election of bishops and in the affairs of the Church, were less anxious for the good of the Church herself than for the final downfall of Nikon, and heaped upon him all kinds of reproaches and mortifications, because they had already gone so far that they could not recede; while, in the mean time, those false teachers, Lazarus, Habbakuk, Nicetas, the monk Capito, and others, taking advantage of the opportunity afforded them by the fall of Nikon, spread abroad reports that the real ground of his trial was heresy, and his having corrupted the Church books. On the other side, Nikon himself, though he wasted his body with prayer and fasting in his solitary hermitage[6], and worked like a common mason at the building of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, was not humbled in spirit. Such was the morbid and gloomy state of his soul, that he took to heart every affront, and continually overstepped the due limits of the episcopal character. He did not spare his enemies either in speech or in writing, but delivered them over to an anathema for the wrongs they had committed against the religious houses, especially in taking away their estates, so that he even exposed himself to an

CHAP. XI.

accusation, though that was indeed utterly unfounded, of having pronounced a curse against the Tsar. But against him alone Nikon entertained no enmity: knowing however the artifices of the nobles, he only complained to him by letter, or through trustworthy persons; and his generous sovereign, recollecting his former affection, alone strove with the numerous enemies of the patriarch, and would not deliver him up to their malice, but was constantly sending presents and offerings to the monastery at Voskresensk. At length for the sake of establishing peace in the Church, the Tsar was obliged to invite the Eastern patriarchs to form a court for his trial, and sent his letters to that effect to the four Œcumenical thrones.

There was however among all the courtiers hostile to Nikon one man who wished him well, and that was a boyar named Nicetas Ziuzin. Afflicted at the injurious consequences of these prolonged dissensions, and hearing continually from those who were most about the Tsar, how painful the obstinacy of the patriarch was to his affectionate heart, and how much he desired his return on account of their mutual vow of friendship, and his wish to consult him on the state of his affairs with Poland, the incautious boyar determined to act upon report alone. He wrote to Nikon desiring him to come unexpectedly to Moscow, on the festival of Peter the Wonder-worker, to Mattins in the cathedral of the Assumption, and from thence send to invite the Tsar to attend the prayers as was his former custom, just as if there had been no differences between them, and that so the past might be consigned to oblivion. The prelate received two such letters and still hesitated: but the favourable reception given to the archimandrite of Voskresensk who had been sent by him to the Sabbin monastery to the sovereign, shook Nikon's resolution: at length a vision which he had himself as he slept in his solitary hermitage, in which it seemed to him as if the whole line of prelates his predecessors rose up from their tombs in the church of the Assumption at the call of the Wonder-worker Jonah,

and gave him their hands to raise him a second time to his Chair, decided the patriarch.

He went secretly by night to the city, accompanied by the brethren of the monastery of Voskresensk, for the festival of the Metropolitan Peter, entered publicly into the church of the Assumption, and after having saluted the holy relics and Icons, took his stand in the patriarch's place, with the staff of the Wonder-worker which he had before himself laid aside and left on the same spot. The good old man Jonah metropolitan of Rostoff, who had been guardian of the patriarchate since the removal of Pitirim to Novogorod, astounded at the sudden appearance of the patriarch himself went up to him to receive his blessing with all the clergy of the cathedral. The patriarch sent him to the palace with the intelligence of his own arrival, as if he had just returned after making a long progress about his ecclesiastical province, and invited the Tsar to the cathedral to receive his blessing and to assist at the prayers.

The Tsar was no less astounded than the Metropolitan Jonah had been. He had already heard Matins in the chapel of the upper story of his own palace, only a few steps distant from the cathedral, and in perplexity he sent for the boyars of his privy council and the spiritual authorities. The moment was a critical one, for on it depended their own fall or the final deposition of Nikon. They persuaded the Tsar not to admit the patriarch to an interview, but only to receive from him a letter in which he had described his vision, and the princes Odoefsky and Dolgorouky with the Metropolitan Paul went to the cathedral, to notify to him the Tsar's pleasure that he should return to the monastery of Voskresensk, and there wait till he should be tried by the Œcumenical Patriarchs.

Nikon was now in his turn surprised, for he had supposed that by his unexpected return he was gratifying the secret wishes of the monarch. The patriarch could scarcely believe what he heard, and suspected some underhand management of his enemies. He left the cathedral, but took with him the staff

CHAP. XI.

of the Wonder-worker as a proof that he had never left his throne with any vow of renouncing it. The monarch was informed of this, and sent after him to the village of Chernevo to take the staff away from him and to ask the reason of his having come to Moscow. Nikon would not deliver up the staff to Paul the metropolitan of the Steeps, or Joachim the archimandrite of the Choudoff, as they were his enemies; but he sent it by his own archimandrite direct to the Tsar, together with the letters of invitation he had received from the Boyar Ziuzin, who was banished to Kazan in consequence.

In the mean time, Nikon plainly perceiving that it was all over with him, and that there was no longer any hope of a reconciliation, declared by the same messenger his consent to the election of a new patriarch, with the stipulation that he should keep his three convents with their properties, in the regulation of which the diocesan prelates were not to interfere, nor in the appointment of the officiating clergy of those three monasteries or of the churches depending upon them; also that he should retain the title of patriarch, and the second place in Synods, and have free access to the Tsar and liberty of communicating with all who wished to visit him; and at the same time, he promised to absolve from his anathema the capital and all those whom in his anger he had subjected to it. But the Synod having considered his proposals, refused to recognise his independence of the new patriarch, or to allow him liberty to ordain in his own monasteries without interference of the diocesan; it demanded the restoration of those estates which he had transferred from other places to the new monastery of Voskresensk, deprived it further of the high-sounding name of New Jerusalem, and lastly, limited his visits to the capital. At the same time the Synod imposed a penance on Jonah metropolitan of Rostoff, for having dared to present himself to Nikon for his blessing in the church of the Assumption, and named Paul the metropolitan of the Steeps as guardian of the patriarchate. But when the news came that the Patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch were coming into Russia, all the prelates who were

assembled in the capital, together with the whole of the clergy, alarmed by the rumours which ill-intentioned men had spread among the people of the heterodoxy of these patriarchs who had been so long oppressed by the Turkish yoke, and of the incorrectness of the Greek books, unanimously took an oath that they acknowledged both the Greek prelates and their books to be orthodox.

The time now arrived when an end was to be put to the disturbances which had for eight years agitated the Russian Church, and the powerful individual Nikon, on whom the general attention had been fixed for the last twenty years, was to descend from that stage on which he had acted so lofty a part. The Œcumenical patriarchs arrived from the East, and were met and received with due honours at all the places through which they passed on their road. The Archbishop Joseph remained at Astrachan on purpose to receive them; but all the rest, together with the Greek bishops who either were in Moscow at the time or came with the patriarchs, and together with the archimandrites and hegumens of the first rank both of our own nation and of the Easterns, presented in the halls of the Kremlin the spectacle of a more imposing Synod than the Church of Russia had ever hitherto witnessed. Besides the two patriarchs, and a third, the new patriarch of Moscow, who was added in the sequel, there were present four Russian metropolitans, Pitirim of Novogorod, Laurentius of Kazan, Jonah of Rostoff, and Paul of the Steeps; six Greek metropolitans, of Nice, Amasia, Iconium, Trebizond, Varna, and Scio, one from Georgia, and one from Servia; Paisius of Gaza declined sitting for fear lest he himself should be called in question for deserting his own diocese in Palestine, and in fact he was so exposed, though somewhat later, in a letter which Nectarius the patriarch of Jerusalem wrote to the Tsar; the archbishop of Sinai and a Wallachian archbishop took their seats, together with six Russian archbishops, Simon of Vologda the meek friend of Nikon, Philaret of Smolensk, Stephen of Souzdal, Hilarion of Riazan, a fierce accuser of the patriarch, Joseph of Tver, and Arsenius of Pskoff; there were also present five bishops,

CHAP. XI.

Misael of Kolomna, the successor of Paul who had been degraded, Alexander of Viatka, Joachim from Slavano-Servia, and two from the dioceses recently reunited from Poland, Lazarus Baranovich the eloquent and virtuous pastor of Chernigoff, and Methodius of Mistislavla another of Nikon's chief enemies; besides these there assisted at the Council more than fifty archimandrites, hegumens, and arch-priests, without counting monks and other spiritual persons.

Before this Council so composed Nikon was solemnly cited to appear from the monastery of Voskresensk, and went with the same sort of preparation as if he were going to his death, having received the Viaticum of the Holy Gifts and the Unction with oil[7], for he had already a presentiment of the bitter fate which awaited him. He received the third summons in the village of Chernevo, and stopped in the Kitai at the lodge of his monastery, which was surrounded by a guard. He did not however present himself before the Council in the Tsar's palace in any other character than that of patriarch, and with the form which denoted his rank, that is, with the cross borne before him: and when he saw that there was no place prepared for him on a level with those of the Eastern patriarchs, he would not seat himself but remained standing, and so heard his accusation from the lips of the monarch himself. It ran upon the disorders he had occasioned in the Church by his self-willed retirement and his capricious actions for the last eight years past. Tears fell from the eyes of the mild Tsar, at having thus harshly to accuse a man who had once been so near to his heart, and the Council also was moved to tears. He further blamed Nikon for the letter of complaint which he had written to the patriarch of Constantinople, and then testified before all that he entertained no personal ill-will against him.

Nikon replied that he had retired to avoid the royal anger: that he had indeed fixed his residence in a convent, but still that convent was within the limits of his own diocese, which he had never renounced with an oath as he was falsely accused of having done, but only sought to be out of the way of the factions

and intrigues of the boyars; as for the letter to the Œcumenical patriarch he said that he had written it as a private letter from one brother to another, and never expected that it should be made public to cause any hurt or scandal. Then there rose up against him his malicious accusers, Paul metropolitan of the Steeps, Hilarion of Riazan, and Methodius of Mistislavla, with their charge of his having left his throne with an oath never to return, of his having arbitrarily degraded Paul of Kolomna, and of his general harsh conduct towards the clergy; while Nikon in his powerful replies gave full course to his indignation and did not spare his accusers.

On the second day after this, he was again summoned before the Council, and heard besides the old fresh accusations brought against him; that he had said the Russian Church was Latinizing, because of the presidency of Paisius Ligarides, who had run away out of Greece into Italy and always spoke in the Latin language, and that he had refused to acknowledge a copy of the Nomo-canon as orthodox, because it had been printed in the West. Both the patriarchs, in attestation of the genuineness of its canons, kissed the book in the midst of the Council. Then the Tsar Alexis turning round to his boyars and seeing they were all silent, asked them whether they had not some more charges to bring against the patriarch; but the prince Dolgorouky was the only one who stepped out from among them to prefer any accusation, for all the rest had only personal causes of enmity against Nikon, which they dared not make public. In the mean time, the patriarch taking advantage of the silence of the rest, contemptuously exclaimed, "That they might perhaps have a chance with stones, but that they would never put an end to him with words, even though they should spend nine years more in collecting them." In the mean time Nikon's letter to the patriarch was being read, and questions were put respecting the harsh expressions it contained. The affectionate heart of the Tsar however could not endure to see his former friend standing before him in so cruel a position, sometimes answering to his accusers and at others remaining

CHAP. XI.

speechless: he quietly left his throne and approaching Nikon took him by the hand and said, "Oh Most Holy Father, why hast thou put upon me such a reproach, preparing thyself for the Council as if thou wert going to be put to death? thinkest thou I have forgotten all thy services both to myself personally and to my family during the plague, and our former mutual friendship?"

He then mildly expostulated with him for his letter to the Patriarch Dionysius, with expressions of his desire for peace. The patriarch answered him with equal gentleness, exposing all the intrigues that had been formed against him: he excused himself for his private letter which had been intercepted through want of sufficient precaution, and notwithstanding the pacific assurances of the Tsar, feeling that it was impossible now to undo the past, he foretold his own severe sentence of condemnation. This was their first interview and their first unrestrained conversation after a separation of seven years; and by this little brief communication their hearts were mutually warmed again towards each other. It was the last time they were destined to meet during this mortal life.

A week was spent in the deliberations of the Council; extracts were made from the Nomo-canon corresponding with the different charges against Nikon; they also enumerated the precedents which had occurred in the Church of Constantinople, of patriarchs who had quitted their thrones of their own accord and never returned to them, of others who had returned, and lastly of those in whose places new patriarchs had been elected. Only one voice, that of the Bishop Lazarus, was given in opposition to the rest in favour of Nikon, who he thought should only be deprived of the patriarchal chair, but allowed to retain his dignity. The two Eastern patriarchs wrote letters to the Œcumenical patriarch and to the patriarch of Jerusalem, excusing themselves for having found themselves obliged, in consequence of not meeting them or their legates in the Muscovite capital, to proceed to the trial of Nikon without them. Lastly, Nikon himself was summoned for the third time before the Council, which was

now no longer assembled in the palace, for the kind-hearted Alexis could not bear to be present at his condemnation, but in a small church over the gates of the Choudoff monastery. They read over his accusation to him: it was, that he had caused disorders in the kingdom of Russia by interfering in affairs that did not belong to the place and authority of the patriarch; that he had voluntarily deserted his chair with an oath never to return to it for no better reason than for an affront offered to one of his retinue; that after thus retiring from the patriarchate he had exercised an arbitrary authority in his three monasteries, and had given them the ambitious names of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Calvary, and the like; that he had plundered like a robber, and if he had been suffered to go on, would have gotten possession of the third part of the kingdom; that he had done all he could to hinder the election of a new patriarch, anathematizing numbers, while in consequence of his retirement all kinds of scandals and divisions were multiplied; that he had arbitrarily deposed Paul, bishop of Kolomna, and had been otherwise harsh and oppressive towards the clergy; that he had made complaints against the Tsar to the Eastern patriarchs; that he had said the Church was Latinizing, and had calumniated the Canons of the Councils and the patriarchs themselves in his pride. Immediately after his accusations they read to him his sentence, which was, that he should be degraded, and retain only the quality of a simple monk, to do penance for the rest of his life in a remote monastery.

Then the patriarchs, one of whom, the patriarch of Antioch, had seen Nikon in all his greatness, and had partaken of his bounty, approaching him in their mantles, ordered his Khlobouk[s], which was embroidered with cherubims in pearls, to be taken from him; but Nikon refused to lay aside this mark of his monastic quality, and demanded of them "why they degraded him thus unjustly and privily without the presence of the Tsar, and in that small church? that they ought rather to do it publicly in the cathedral of the Assumption, in the place where they had formerly implored him to ascend

CHAP. XI.

the patriarchal throne." But when they had taken away from him his Khlobouk, leaving him still his episcopal mantle and crozier for fear of the people, he again reproached the patriarchs for their mean subserviency and for wandering about the world as they did; and offered to present them with the pearls of his Khlobouk, as something towards their maintenance. Of all the Russian bishops Simon of Vologda and Lazarus of Chernigoff were the only two who refused to be present at this painful business. Nikon was led away under a guard to the court-house of the province, and was overwhelmed on his way with the reproaches of the commissioners who conducted him, especially of the Archimandrite Sergius; but he bore all with that extraordinary firmness which in some passages of his life amounted to obstinacy. All those who had adhered to him were scattered abroad.

On the next day the good-natured monarch moved with compassion towards him sent him money and sable furs for his long journey; but Nikon would accept of nothing, and was sent poorly clad and under strict guard, to Biclo-ozero, that is, to the White lake, to the monastery of Therapontoff, where apartments had been prepared for his confinement. Joseph archimandrite of the Pechersky, who accompanied him from Kliazma, gave him a winter cloak to protect him from the cold; on his arrival at the monastery his episcopal staff and mantle were taken from him, and for some months his confinement was exceedingly severe.

CHAP. XII.

THE PATRIARCHS.

VII. JOASAPH II.

In the mean time the prelates who remained in Moscow continued to be occupied in regulating the affairs of the Church; and the first thing they did was to elect as patriarch of all Russia the archimandrite of the Trinity Lavra, the meek Joasaph, a man who by the great gentleness of his disposition disarmed all hostility. Although the arbitrary acts of the late patriarch had been condemned, and the high-sounding name of his Jerusalem Monastery disallowed, and the estates which had been transferred to it taken away, still the faith of Nikon was acknowledged to have been pure, and his correction of the books was confirmed as canonical and agreeable to the spirit of the Orthodox Church; the vain glosses of the Monk Capito and the Popes Lazarus, Habbakuk, and Nicetas, respecting the position of the fingers, and the correct form of the Cross, the Name of Jesus, the Creed, and the Double Alleluia, and all their objections against the book put forth by authority of the Patriarch Nikon, under the title of the Skrijál or Table, were rejected and condemned. A new book which was composed for the refutation of their errors, entitled the Staff of Rule, served as the means of the temporary conversion of Nicetas, who confessed his errors and was absolved from the anathema of the Council under which the rest continued to lie. The acts themselves of the Council of the Hundred Chapters, which had been the foundation of the vain subtleties in question, were annulled by the decision of the Patriarchal Council of Moscow, the authority of which

CHAP. XII.

was not far short of being Œcumenical[1]; for the representatives both of the Greek and of the Russian Churches were present at it: and so in the early ages the smaller or local synods were always liable to be corrected by those that were greater or Œcumenical. Besides this, many constitutions were passed relating to the internal and external discipline of the Church, and various customs which had crept in irregularly were reformed, as for instance, that of rebaptizing converts from the Latin Church, the prohibiting widower priests to serve Churches, and some undue privileges which had been conferred on the archimandrites of great monasteries.

The Pontifical which had been brought to Nikon by the blessed Athanasius Patellarius patriarch of Constantinople, was collated in the Council with other ancient Greek copies, as were also all the Directories and Office-Books, and were unanimously acknowledged to be correct. At the same time in consideration of the need caused by the increasing extent of the kingdom, the Council decided to raise certain dioceses to the dignity of metropolitan sees, as those of Astrachan, Tobolsk, and Riazan, and to form a fresh one at Bielogorod for the newly-settled townships of the Ukraine; to restore the suppressed sees of Nijgorod and Vladimir; to make Perm separate, as it had been before, from Viatka, forming at the same time a distinct diocese for Archangel. The ancient towns of Chernigoff, Pskoff, and Kolomna, had the honour of being advanced to be archbishoprics; while the metropolitans of Novogorod, Kazan, Rostoff, and Riazan, were relieved of some part of their burden by the appointment of bishops-vicars to assist them, who took their titles from Kargopol, Oustiog, Oufa, Ouglich, Tamboff and Voronege. It was also proposed to erect new bishoprics at Tomsk and on the Lena on account of their great distance from the metropolitan city of Tobolsk. Such important changes and establishments in the Church remained as a lasting memorial of this Council, in which for the last time the Greek Church shewed by the personal presence of her highest dignitaries the kindly interest she

took in the Russian Church, which had originally derived from her the blessing of spiritual illumination.

When the Council was terminated Paisius patriarch of Alexandria took his leave, and was followed the next year by Macarius of Antioch, both loaded with alms, honours, and presents. But although one of the teachers of false doctrine, the Priest Nicetas, had been converted from his errors, and another of them, Paul, the ex-bishop of Kolomna, was confined by decree of the Council in the monastery of Paleostroff, still the rest continued to be actively at work as before, nor could be silenced, although some of their number had been punished, and others banished to Siberia. The unsound decisions of the Hundred Chapter Council gave them a hold upon the opinion of the people, as did also the old printed books of the patriarchs, and the custom which had crept in not more than a century before of making the sign of the Cross with the fingers in a wrong position; while in the mean time it was not every one who could discern the propriety of the reforms made by the Council which had been just held.

The ancient Lavra of Solovetsky, which not long before in time of war had volunteered to contribute 50,000 silver roubles to assist the state, and had repelled since then fresh incursions of the Swedes, now set a deplorable example of error; and it was this very circumstance of military strength and resources of the monastery which became the cause and means of its revolt. Some Streltses and Cossacks who had been sent for the defence of the island had brought thither with them the tares of schism, and having joined themselves with some of the religious and with some of the exiles who were there, they prevailed over the well-disposed portion of the fraternity. The spark had long lain concealed and smothering; at last it burst out into a flame. Even as far back as the year 1556 the books of divine service which had been sent to the Lavra were thrown aside, and all the offices continued according to the old fashion. Soon after the council of Moscow the schism shewed itself by the insubordination of the bursar and treasurer who headed the brotherhood against the Archi-

CHAP. XII.

mandrite Bartholomew. They addressed to the Tsar a petition filled with vain subtleties, which is held even to the present day in great esteem amongst the Sectaries, and refused to receive their new Archimandrite Joseph. However the rebellious Bursar Sabbatius was removed from the Lavra, as was also the exiled prince Lvoff who had formerly been at the head of the printing establishment in Moscow, and in that capacity had favoured the corruption of the church books, and had spread his infection through the monastery. Letters of exhortation were addressed to them by the Tsar to no purpose; and a detachment of the military which was sent afterwards proved too weak to produce any effect on 1,600 rebels, who had established themselves in the Lavra, and were provided with cannon, stores, and a military chest: in the mean time their teachers of false doctrine went about all the neighbouring coasts, and spread heresy and anarchy in the government of Olonetz, where many nests were formed of those schismatics who are called Pomorians. It was not till ten years later that the Tsar's general, Neschcrinoff, after a long siege, succeeded in taking the Lavra by storm, and so restored it to the Orthodox party, when the evil had already struck deep root in all the surrounding districts, and had extended itself even into the distant Siberia.

The affairs of the state were not in a more flourishing condition than those of the Church during this second period of the reign of Alexis. The benevolences obtained from the monasteries, like those of the Trinity and Solovetsky, could not cover the extraordinary expenses of the ruinous war in Poland. The consequence of this was that a change took place in the coinage, and the introduction of the new copper money excited first murmurs among the people, and eventually an insurrection, which brought back to mind the first revolt of the Streltses. The Swedish war which had been so unprofitable to Russia terminated in our restoring all those provinces which had been subdued by our arms in the course of six years. But the Polish war still continued with an alternation of successes and defeats to both sides. Little

CHAP. XII.

Russia itself fell away for a time from the Muscovite sceptre by the treason of the Hetman Vitofsky, who had been elected contrary to the just claims of Youry son of Kmelnitsky. Deluding himself with the dream of entire independance for the Ukraine, he suffered himself to be captivated by deceitful promises on the part of Poland of civil and religious liberty, and purpled with blood that rich country, the re-union of which to Russia had been effected without the shedding of so much as one single drop. The Poles and the brigands of the Crimea seized the opportunity offered by the disordered state of the Ukraine, to pillage sometimes as allies of Vitofsky, at others as those of Youry. Youry himself made his appearance in the field as claimant for his father's hetmanship[2], was acknowledged by Russia, betrayed her, and finally terminated his strange and stormy career in the flower of his age by taking the monastic vows; while he left the hetmanship of the Zaporog horde first to Seter, then to Opar, and afterwards to Doroshenko. The most experienced generals of the Tsar, Troubetskoy, Romodanofsky, and Sheremetieff, lost several battles owing to disputes about precedence, while there was a contention between the two Ukraines. But when the Zaporog Cossacks beyond the Falls fell away, then those who were settled on the Russian side remained devotedly attached to the Tsar of Moscow, under the command of their brave Ataman Samki, and the new hetman of that part of the Ukraine, Bruchovetsky.

The ecclesiastical hierarchy, of which Kieff was the centre, had been in no less deplorable a state of disorder since the death of Silvester Kossoff, in consequence of intestine divisions. Dionysius Boloban bishop of Loutsk having with the consent of the Tsar been appointed metropolitan in Pereyaslavla refused to receive consecration from the patriarch of Moscow, and in consequence, Methodius, who had been ordained bishop of Mistislavla, was sent to Kieff to act as guardian of the metropolitan see. Dionysius died at Korsoun; and upon this the clergy assembled at Chigirin, and elected in his room Joseph Toukalsky, bishop of Mogi- 1664.

CHAP. XII.

leff, as the new metropolitan, out of consideration for the persecutions which he had suffered at the hands of the Uniates. But the hetman of the Ukraine on the other bank of the Dnieper for his part favoured the claims of Anthony bishop of Vinnitsa. Besides these there appeared afterwards a third candidate for the chair of Kieff in the person of Joseph archbishop of Lvoff, who confided in the protection of Poland, and some years afterwards in consequence of having had his ambition disappointed, went over with all his diocese to the Unia.

Joseph was very unfortunate at Chigirin, where he was metropolitan only in name: the distinguished Polish general, Chernetsky, took him prisoner, together with the Archimandrite Youry Kmelnitsky, and when he regained his liberty after a three years' imprisonment, he no longer dared to go to Kieff, but remained in Wilna till the conclusion of the truce of Androusoff. By this Smolensk and Chernigoff were apportioned to Russia, but the Principality of Lithuania to Poland; the Ukraine was divided between the two powers, and broken up into two hetmanships. When this took place, the metropolitan attached himself to the brave hetman of Chigirin Doroshenko, and gave him the support of his presence. The truce shook the confidence of the clergy of Little Russia, and although the Tsar Alexis declared himself the defender of orthodoxy against the Unia, and demanded that the persecutions should cease, still Kieff itself, by the terms of the treaty, was after two years to pass again under the yoke of Poland, and the Tsar's commanders had violated the rights and privileges of the Ukraine, so that even the Hetman Bruchovetsky himself deserted Russia before his death.

In the mean time, the archimandrite of the Pechersky, Innocentius Gizel, in vain demanded by a synodal letter the election of a new metropolitan; for the two senior bishops, Lazarus of Chernigoff and Methodius of Mistislavla, were in Moscow at the trial of the patriarch, and the clergy of the Ukraine were obliged occasionally to have recourse to the

Metropolitan Joseph in Chigirin. The guardian of the see, Methodius, soon after his return to Kieff, was taken prisoner by the Hetman Doroshenko, and deprived of his rank by the Metropolitan Joseph. He escaped from imprisonment by flying to Moscow, but there he was convicted of holding criminal correspondence with the Hetman Bruchovetsky, and ended his days in the Novospassky monastery. Lazarus, archbishop of Chernigoff, succeeded to his office and held it during the hetmanship of Mnogogreshny, and under the brave Samuelovich, who at length succeeded in uniting the government of both the Ukraines in his own person. So desperate was the state of Kieff, that the hetman and the guardian proposed to transfer the metropolitan chair from the ancient capital of orthodoxy to Pereyaslavla or Chernigoff, while the Metropolitan Joseph, in order to rid himself if possible of his two rivals, of Vinnitsa and Lvoff, obtained letters of confirmation from Methodius patriarch of Constantinople. He died however in Chigirin, after having first lost his protector the hetman Doroshenko, who was at length subdued by the arms of Russia, while the greater part of the Ukraine on the other side the Dnieper, with Kamenets-Podolsky, was in the hands of the Turks whom he had called in, and the new king of Poland, the valiant John Sobiesky, was contending, with the assistance of the hetman of the Ukraine, against their immense hosts.

But the protection of King John did not procure, after the death of Joseph, the metropolitan chair of Kieff for the archbishop of Lvoff, nor did his own traitorous desertion of orthodoxy bring him any personal advantage. The Uniates had already their own Metropolitan Cyprian in Polotsk. Equally unsuccessful were the intrigues of the other competitor Anthony of Vinnitsa; Lazarus archbishop of Chernigoff, an experienced and virtuous pastor, continued to discharge the duties of the see of Kieff, in conjunction with Innocentius Gizel, the learned archimandrite of the Pechersky, till the election of a new metropolitan.

At that period when the Hetman Doroshenko was en-

CHAP. XII.

deavouring to obtain a complete independance both of Russia and Poland, and was still maintaining himself in Chigirin with the Metropolitan Joseph, and all the efforts of the Tsar were turned upon the Ukraine, there appeared another insurgent leader of Cossacks of quite a different spirit and character named Stenka Razin. Having collected a band of desperadoes, he made marauding expeditions with them about the Volga, the Oural, and the shores of the Caspian sea, took Saratoff and Astrachan, and slew there the voivode in command and the Metropolitan Joseph. The number of his followers was increased by a false report which he caused to be spread abroad—that the Tsarevich Alexis, who had died not long before, was still alive and in his camp together with the Patriarch Nikon, whom he pretended to have freed from his confinement. His failure in the siege of Simbirsk was the point at which Razin's good fortune left him. The ataman of the forces of the Don finished what had been begun by the voivodes of the Tsar, took the insurgent chieftain himself prisoner, and brought him to Moscow, where he was executed.

This was the last violent shock the government of Alexis received: during the remaining years of his reign, both the internal and external affairs of the kingdom gradually assumed a settled aspect. With the exception of his expeditions into the Ukraine against Doroshenko, and the incursions of the Crimeans, the Tsar was at peace with his neighbours, and sent his embassies to all the European powers, and even to China, for the purpose of settling our eastern boundaries[3], which were continually being enlarged. Sweden was well inclined to preserve peace, Poland that had been our enemy for so many years, had been much enfeebled during the reign of John Kasimir, a prince who experienced more misfortunes than any of his predecessors. The last of the house of Vasa, he voluntarily abdicated his throne, as if he had foreseen the future partition of his dominions between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. His successor Michael Vishnevetsky immediately sought to establish for himself a connection with Moscow by ceding Kieff in perpetuity, while the truce of

Androusoff was converted into a peace under the glorious conqueror of the Turks, the King John Sobiesky, who was elected after the death of Michael, although Theodore, the son of the Tsar Alexis, had been one of the candidates for the Polish throne. But another and more permanent throne was preparing for Theodore, that of Moscow, and a glorious successor in the person of his younger brother Peter, who was about this time born. The Tsar Alexis, after the death of his first consort Maria, united himself in marriage with Natalia, the adopted daughter of the Boyar Matfeëff, who was herself of the family of the Narishkins, and the happy fruit of this marriage was the Great Peter. For his colossal genius was prepared the task of completing that orderly settlement of the empire which had been begun by his father, and great was the joy which was manifested by all Russia at his birth, as if she had had a presentiment who it was that was then given to her.

CHAP. XIII.

THE PATRIARCHS.

VIII. PITIRIM.

CHAP. XIII.

In the affairs of the Church alone the Tsar Alexis found no satisfaction, for whilst he felt the necessity of keeping Nikon at a distance, he could not forget their mutual vow of friendship, and was troubled in spirit to be deprived of his blessing; and besides this after Nikon's degradation, he saw three patriarchs pass in rapid succession before his eyes as if in mysterious reprehension of his conduct, whilst he who had been patriarch before them was still pining in confinement. After the death of the meek Joasaph the choice of the clergy, which always fell on the senior prelate, elevated to the patriarchate men whose sentiments were unfriendly to Nikon.

1673. And thus Pitirim, who had been before at Novogorod, after sitting only ten months, yielded up the chair to another Lord of Novogorod, Joachim, of the noble family of the Savelloffs, who, when archimandrite of the Choudoff monastery, had together with Paul, then metropolitan of the Steeps, taken away the crosier of Peter the Wonder-worker from the Patriarch Nikon. This same Paul also was still alive, and employed the latter years of his life, in conjunction with Epiphanius Slavenetsky and other learned men, in correcting the translation of the Bible from the Greek into the Slavonic language, but his labours remained unfinished in consequence of his premature decease.

CHAP. XIV.

THE PATRIARCHS.

IX. JOACHIM.

Alexis lightened the original severity of Nikon's confinement, and ordered the iron bars and fastenings to be taken from the windows and doors of his apartments, so that he enjoyed complete liberty in the monastery, and had his own chapel to himself, where he continued to serve as a bishop[1] with those monks who shared his confinement. The Tsar continually sent him rich alms, food, and vessels for the service of the Church, as if he had forgotten his having been degraded by the Council; and what was more than all this, in his last will he called him his "Father," "Great Lord," "Most Holy Pontiff," and "Most Blessed Pastor." Nikon for his part also became by degrees reconciled to the Tsar; at first he refused every kind of present, but at length he began to accept them, and wrote affectionate letters to his sovereign, hoping to be allowed to return to the monastery at Voskresensk, which was the constant object of his solicitude, and in which he had prepared for himself a tomb under the Calvary. He refused to accept any presents of money for commemorations of the Tsaritsa Maria, reckoning it as his duty without any special request to pray for the repose of her soul. He rejoiced at the new marriage of the Tsar and the birth of Peter, and wept bitterly at the intelligence of his sovereign's death.

Nikon learned this melancholy news in the depths of his solitude, and exclaimed with a groan, "The will of God be done. What though he never saw me to take leave[2] of me here, we shall meet and be judged together at the terrible coming

CHAP. XIV.

of Christ." A messenger was sent to ask him to give a letter of absolution to the deceased; Nikon gave a verbal absolution, but no letter, lest it should seem to have been extorted from a prisoner. Soon new trials came upon him, for his former enemies taking advantage of the weakness of the youthful Tsar Theodore, and the dislike borne against him by the patriarch Joachim, brought calumnious accusations against his life in the monastery where he was confined. They were not ashamed to accuse him of having taken part with the traitor Razin, and even to impute moral impurities to an old man, whose monastic life had been spotless even from the earliest days of his youth. He was transferred from the Therapontoff monastery, which had become in a manner his own, to the fortified monastery of St. Cyrill[3], and was placed under the strictest inspection; and for the space of three years more he lingered on there confined in close apartments, and forgotten alike by the patriarch and the Tsar.

There were, however, still some individuals at the Tsar's court who wished Nikon well: among these was Theodore's preceptor, the monk Simeon Polotsky, who had received his education in the schools of the West, and together with profound learning, had imbibed in them some of the opinions of the Romish Church. He exercised a powerful influence over the mild disposition of the Tsar, and did all he could to favour the early education of Peter, whom the Miloslafskys endeavoured without success to separate from his royal brother, though they had already succeeded in procuring the imprisonment of the virtuous Boyar Matfeëff. The Patriarch Joachim was displeased to find in Simeon Polotsky a powerful opponent about the person of the monarch, and only agreed with him in their common wish and endeavour to promote an improvement of education and learning among the clergy, the indispensible necessity for which became the more sensible, the more the schisms which had been engendered by ignorance increased.

The school for the Greek and Latin languages which had been first founded at Moscow, as early as the time of the

Patriarch Philaret, and enlarged and remodelled by Nikon, appeared to Simeon inadequate for the end proposed. He therefore persuaded the Tsar, who was well inclined to patronise learning, to establish at Moscow in the Zäikonospassky monastery a spiritual Academy after the model of that at Kieff, and the Tsar applied to the Œcumenical patriarchs by a letter begging them to send him Orthodox teachers for this his new Academy. Two brothers of distinguished abilities and learning from Cefalonia, the priest-monks Joannicius and Sophronius Lichoudi, were accordingly sent with the benediction of the patriarch to Russia, but neither the Tsar nor Simeon Polotsky lived to witness their arrival, and so the establishment of the Academy which followed was the fruit of the labours of the Most Holy Joachim alone.

Among other strange projects that floated in the visionary mind of Simeon, which still preserved the impressions of the West, was one of erecting in Russia twelve new metropolitan sees, and four patriarchates in lieu of the former metropolitan sees of Novogorod, Kazan, Rostoff, and Sarai or the Steeps, after the likeness of the four Œcumenical thrones, and then, in imitation of the hierarchy of Rome, to appoint one Pope over them all; and his Pope he intended should be Nikon, in order to humble Joachim, who was his enemy. These strange ideas of Simeon were mingled with astrological divinations, which were the favourite object of his studies, according to the spirit of that time. However he was destined to be the means of disposing the good-natured Theodore to alleviate the lot of his godfather. His prudent aunt the Tsarevna Tatiana Michaelovna, who had ever been Nikon's friend, persuaded the Tsar to visit his neglected monastery of the New Jerusalem, and to receive from the brethren who remained there a petition for the return of their founder. Struck with the magnificent scale of the buildings which had been commenced after the model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the monarch ordered them to be continued, and, moved with compassion, laid before the Synod a proposition to allow the aged Nikon to die in the monastery

CHAP. XIV.

which he had founded. The patriarch remained for a long time inflexible, till at length the news coming that Nikon had put on the Schema, and was altogether broken and enfeebled, his heart was touched, and he consented.

On the very same day on which the gracious permission of the Tsar and the patriarch arrived at the monastery of St. Cyrill, Nikon, while it was yet very early, from a secret presentiment had prepared himself for the journey, and to the astonishment of every body, ordered the religious who were in personal attendance upon himself to hold themselves in readiness. With difficulty they placed the old man, now worn out with sickness and infirmity, in the sledge which took him by land to a barge on the river Sheksna, by which he descended to the Volga. Here he was met by brethren from the Voskresensky monastery, that is, the monastery of the Resurrection or New Jerusalem, who had been sent for that purpose. Nikon gave orders to drop down the Volga as far as Yaroslavla, and having put in to shore at the Tolskoy monastery, he received the Communion of the Sick, for he began to be exceedingly feeble. The hegumen with all the brotherhood went out to meet him accompanied by a former enemy of Nikon, the Archimandrite Sergius, the same that during his trial kept him under guard, and covered him with reproaches, but had since been sent to this monastery in disgrace to perform penance. This Sergius, having fallen asleep in the Trapeza or Refectory[4] at the very hour of the arrival of Nikon, saw in a dream the patriarch appearing to him, and saying, "Brother Sergius, arise; let us forgive and take leave of each other!"—when suddenly at that moment he was awakened and told that the patriarch was actually approaching by the Volga, and that the brotherhood had already gone out to the bank to meet him. Sergius followed immediately, and when he saw Nikon dying, he fell at his feet, and shedding tears of repentance asked and obtained his forgiveness. Death had already begun to come upon the patriarch, by the time that the barge was again moving down the stream. The citizens of Yaroslavla hearing of his arrival crowded to the river,

and seeing the old man lying on his couch all but dead, threw themselves down before him with tears, kissing his hands and his garments, and begging his blessing; some towed the barge along the shore, others threw themselves into the water to assist them, and thus they drew it in and moored it against the monastery of the All-merciful Saviour.

The sufferer was already so exhausted that he could not speak, but only gave his hand to them all. The Tsar's Secretary ordered them to tow the barge to the other side of the river to avoid the crowds of the people. Just then the bells were struck for evening prayers. Nikon was on the point of death: suddenly he turned and looked about as if some one had come to call him, and then arranged his hair, beard, and dress for himself, as if in preparation for his last and longest journey. His confessor, together with all the brethren standing round, read the Commendatory prayers for the dying; and the patriarch, stretching himself out to his full length on the couch, and laying his arms cross-wise upon his breast, gave one sigh, and departed from this world in peace. In the mean time the pious Tsar Theodore, not knowing that he was dead, had sent his own carriage to meet him with a number of horses. When he was informed of it he shed tears, and asked what Nikon had desired respecting his last will? and when he learned that the departed prelate had chosen him as his godson to be his executor, and had confided every thing to him, the good-hearted Tsar replied with emotion, "If it be so, and the Most Holy Patriarch Nikon has reposed all his confidence in me, the will of the Lord be done. I will not forget him." He gave orders for conveying the body to the New Jerusalem.

New difficulties were raised by the Patriarch Joachim with regard to the funeral of Nikon, to whom he would not consent to render episcopal honours, objecting that he had been degraded by the sentence of the Œcumenical patriarchs. However, the Tsar persuaded Cornelius, the metropolitan of Novogorod, to officiate at his interment without any permission from Joachim; and he himself in person took a part

CHAP. XIV

in that affecting ceremony, and helped to bear the body on his shoulders from the cross on the Mount of Olives, the spot where formerly the deceased had stood with his royal father when he gave the name of New Jerusalem to his monastery, to the tomb under Calvary which he had himself prepared for his everlasting rest. Not more than eight months were to intervene before the amiable prince who had thus assisted at the funeral of Nikon was to be himself peacefully removed from a temporal to an eternal kingdom; he however made use of this short space to obtain letters of absolution for the deceased from the four Œcumenical patriarchs, who unanimously received him again into their pontifical assembly.

Thus did this illustrious prelate finish his strange and troubled course; a prelate who had exercised so powerful an influence on the destinies of the Russian Church, and upon whose personal lot the attention of the whole kingdom had been fixed for the space of about forty years, the last fifteen of which he spent in confinement. During the course of his seventy years' life on earth, Nikon was more or less contemporary with all the Russian patriarchs. He was born while the patriarchate was still held by Job; he was a boy in the time of Hermogenes, a monk under the great Philaret, superior of a convent under Joasaph I., metropolitan of Novogorod in the time of Joseph, and a prisoner in bonds during the rule of the three patriarchs who came after himself, Joasaph II., Pitirim, and Joachim; he died when the last patriarch, Adrian, was already archimandrite of the Choudoff, while the last guardian of the patriarchal chair, Stephen Yavorsky, had become distinguished by his virtues throughout the south of Russia, and was preparing himself for his high calling. Thus the colossal character of Nikon took up to itself almost the whole age of the patriarchs in our annals.

Every thing began to assume a settled character during the six years of the peaceful reign of Theodore. Little Russia was brought into a state of tranquillity, and a peace was con-

cluded with the Porte, while that which already existed with our neighbours of Sweden and Poland gave every promise of continuance. At one word from the Tsar in a mixed council of all the spiritual and temporal authorities of the state, after an exhortation from the patriarch, those destructive disputes concerning the local antiquity and precedence of families, which had caused so many evils to Russia, were terminated for ever; and the Books of Pedigrees were solemnly committed to the flames. The Church also prospered: for with the co-operation of the Tsar the vigilant Pastor Joachim stopped the spread of schisms, did much to promote the spread of learning in the spiritual schools, and, for the better superintendence of the clergy and their flocks, proposed further to institute as many as fifty new episcopal sees either local or vicarial. But this project fell to the ground upon the death of Theodore, and the kingdom was for a time plunged into a state of faction, disorder, and agitation, from which it was rescued only by the powerful arm of Peter, when he began to grow up to manhood.

The commencement of these evils was a furious mutiny of the Streltsi which broke out upon the proclamation of Peter, then a vigorous boy of ten years old, to be Tsar, in preference to his elder brother John. This was done by the patriarch in concert with the most loyal and well-disposed of the nobles, on the ground that John was incapacitated by his imbecility for reigning; and they placed Peter under the regency of his mother the Tsaritsa Natalia, and the virtuous Boyar Matfeëff. The ambitious sister of the young princes, the Tsarevna Sophia, acting secretly in concert with her relations the Miloslafskys, instigated the Streltsi to a mutiny, to which in the space of three days Matfeëff, the Narishkins, and all those who had been the chief supporters of the thrones of Alexis and Theodore, fell victims. The patriarch himself narrowly escaped with his life from the fury of the mob, when he attempted to address a crowd of the insurgents from the Krasnoy stairs. The compulsory proclamation of John to reign jointly with Peter, and the invitation of Sophia

1682.

CHAP. XIV.

to govern the kingdom together with her younger brothers were the effects of this first revolt of the Streltsi, which cost the state so many valuable lives.

These civil disturbances soon had ill consequences for the Church. Taking advantage of the weakness of the government, the Priest Nicetas, a hypocritical pretender to sanctity, after having once been reconciled and then a second time fallen into schism, began to get about him on the other side of the Yaouza, and in the public square, the grosser sort of the populace, in defence as he pretended of the Orthodox religion against ravening wolves, by which name he called the whole body of the clergy. His insolence reached to such a height that he made his way into the Kremlin with a crowd of his adherents, set himself a lectern with Icons upon it in the cathedral of the Archangel, and demanded that the patriarch himself, who was then performing the Liturgy in the cathedral of the Assumption, should come and dispute with him. A priest who was sent to him scarcely got back with his life. At that crisis, in order to pacify the populace, the two Tsars conjointly issued an order that all the bishops should assemble in their palace, and the rioters were called to appear before the patriarch, assisted by seven metropolitans, five archbishops, and two bishops, one of whom was Metrophanes, the recently ordained bishop of Voronege. The sham-saint, finding himself exposed and powerfully refuted in all his sophistries by the eloquent Athanasius, archbishop of Kholmogori, in an outbreak of rage rushed at him and attempted to seize him by the throat, but was prevented by those who were about him; while the young Tsar, the boy Peter, rose up from his throne with such an air of command as made itself felt in the midst of the general confusion, and with one sternly-pronounced word drove the mutinous populace out of the hall. The band was broken up in consequence of the disaffected being put to shame by the evident madness or possession of their false teacher, who was seized with a violent fit of epilepsy on the public square where he was capitally punished. His secret adherents, however, did

not cease to promulgate their pernicious doctrines, especially among the Streltsi and in the neighbourhood of the capital.

Two priests of their number, named Kosma and Stephen, terrified at the fate of the arch-hypocrite their master, took to flight, and went in the first instance to Little Russia, to the location of the Starodoubofsky Cossack regiment or polk, and afterwards into the neighbouring districts of Poland, where they formed a second settlement upon the river Vetka. Their successor, whose name was Theodosius, built a church there which became the root and head quarters of Popoftshinism, that is, in the literal sense of the word, of Presbyterianism, or of those schismatics who acknowledge the priesthood, but so as to have no other priests themselves than such as have been expelled or have run away from the Church. Another and much more pernicious form of schism was that of Bez-popoftschinism, or Absque-Presbyterianism, which asserted that from the time of Nikon the grace of the priesthood was lost, and that the period of Antichrist had commenced. This had rooted itself in the North under the denomination of Pomorians, that is, people of the sea coast, and in Siberia under various denominations after one or other of their false teachers: for according to their individual peculiarities of opinion they were divided into a number of sects, mutually hostile to each other. Their ignorance and superstition led them to the highest pitch of fanaticism. The followers of the Priest Habbakuk and the Monk Joseph the Armenian, in Olonetz, Nijgorod, and Siberia, to which last region the two leaders themselves had been banished in the time of Nikon, solemnly burned themselves alive by whole families in hopes of a reward in heaven, fancying themselves to be thus voluntary martyrs. Not far from the Paleostroff monastery, where Paul ex-bishop of Kolomna had been confined and died, many nests were formed of the Pomorians, who were reinforced by such of the rebels of the Solovetsky as had escaped in time from the siege; and two brothers, Andrew and Simeon Denisoff of the ancient family of the Princes Mnishetsky, settled a colony of schis-

CHAP. XIV.

matics at Vigoretz in the government of Olonetz, and collected by all the means in their power ancient manuscripts and books for the purpose of deceiving the ignorant.

Under such difficult circumstances both in Church and State, the prudent Patriarch Joachim was continually on the alert; he assisted in repressing the Streltsi who had been infected with the same spirit of insubordination, because their principal commanders, the Princes Khovansky, favoured, certainly not from religious motives, the schism, as offering a powerful means for the excitement of insurrections. He also refuted the heretics by synodical instructions. His book entitled "A Spiritual Exhortation," and his numerous letters, remain as memorials of those distressing times. Before long the patriarch was compelled to arm himself against a new doctrine introduced from the West concerning the time of the transubstantiation[5] of the Holy Gifts. Silvester Medvedeff, a pupil of Simeon Polotsky, and superior of the Zaikonospassky monastery, incorrectly taught, according to the Romish traditions, that it is not through the invocation of the Holy Spirit and the blessing of the Gifts, but through the words themselves of our Saviour, "Take and eat this &c.," and "Drink ye all of this &c.," that the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ. The two distinguished brethren, natives of the Ionian islands, Sophronius and Joannicius Lichoudi, who had been sent to Russia by the Œcumenical patriarchs, were the first to expose this error, and entered into a controversy in writing with Silvester, in which a considerable number of persons took part.

Under the protection of this enlightened prelate, they fixed themselves at first in the monastery of the Theophany, where their school, composed of a small number of the nobility and clergy, in a short time attained an extraordinary degree of prosperity; and afterwards, in a building erected on purpose for them at the Zaiconospassky, their unwearied activity produced the Slaveno-Greeko-Russian Academy. But the zeal of the Lichoudi for learning and Orthodoxy, which was duly

appreciated under the Patriarch Joachim, subjected them to a long imprisonment under his successor. Although Silvester, upon the refutation of his error by their writings had been degraded by Joachim, who convoked a Synod against him, and even for greater security addressed enquiries to the bishops of Little Russia concerning the doctrine in question, still many were offended at the zeal with which the learned brethren interested themselves about the purity of the Eastern doctrine.

The Church of Little Russia had now at this point become an integral part of our hierarchy, and this was one of the most important events of the patriarchate of Joachim. When both the Ukraines were restored to tranquillity under the dominion of the Hetman Samuelovich, and John Sobiesky, king of Poland, was inclined to conclude a lasting treaty of peace after ceding Kieff and Smolensk, the occasion which presented itself was made use of to re-establish the metropolitan chair of Kieff, which had now remained vacant for twenty-eight years without any regular pastor, the primate's chair having been filled during that period only by guardians. The one who occupied it the longest time of all was Lazarus, archbishop of Chernigoff. This venerable prelate, now much enfeebled by age, together with the learned archimandrite of the Lavra, Barlaam Yasinsky, the worthy successor of Innocentius Gisel, were among the candidates thought of for the chair of Kieff. But the choice fell on Gideon, bishop of Loutsk and prince of Chetvertinsk, who had retired from his own diocese in consequence of the persecution of the Uniates and the encroachments of Joseph bishop of Lvoff, who had intrigued to obtain that diocese for his own brother. The hetman being devoted to Russia, and desirous of the firmest union with her, decided that the new metropolitan of Kieff should go for consecration to the patriarch of Moscow, and should be in full dependence upon him, which neither Lazarus nor Barlaam would consent to, but did all they could to maintain the rights of the see of Constantinople. But when Gideon, who was received with extraordinary honours at Moscow, had

CHAP. XIV.

been instituted by Joachim as metropolitan of Kieff, Galicia, and all Little Russia, with jurisdiction also over the archbishopric of Chernigoff, the Pecherskay Lavra, and the dioceses of Southern Russia, the same individuals again opposed this arrangement, and the Patriarch Joachim was obliged to acknowledge the Lavra as a Stauropegia, and to allow Chernigoff an honorary precedence over all the other Russian archbishoprics, without being dependent upon Kieff.

On this the hetman and both the Tsars, to set at rest the clergy of the Ukraine, sent ambassadors to Constantinople with letters of request to the patriarchs that they would confirm the dependence of Kieff on the patriarchate of Moscow, in order to its better defence and more distinct separation from the Unia; and two patriarchs, Dionysius of Constantinople and the learned Dositheus of Jerusalem, acknowledged by letters patent in due form the final union of the hierarchy of Kieff and all the South with that of Great Russia. In this way was terminated the long separation of these two Churches, both of which had ever held one and the same doctrine, a division which had lasted for more than two centuries and a half, from the period when Vitoft, by the compulsory appointment of Gregory Simblak as metropolitan of Kieff, rent off Southern Russia from her spiritual union with Moscow.

But while Kieff was thus re-united to Russia, the other Orthodox sees in Lithuania and Poland, Lvoff, Peremuishla, and Loutsk, were all within the space of a few years afterwards extinguished, with the single exception of Mogileff. The Polish government of that day, like Vitoft, dreaded the consequences of their Ecclesiastical dependence on Moscow, and fresh and more violent persecutions, notwithstanding the favourable conditions of the lately-concluded peace, extirpated the remains of Orthodoxy in the Polish provinces; while the Uniate archbishop of Polotsk, with the title of metropolitan of Kieff and all Russia, by degrees appointed bishops in the room of the Orthodox prelates, who either died or were expelled by his persecutions.

In the mean time an important change had taken place in the kingdom. Peter, tall and manly beyond his years, could not endure to lead an idle life in the palace of the Kremlin: thirsting after knowledge, he availed himself for his education of the services of a Genevese emigrant, named Lefort, and was himself his own master in military exercises, which he practised with a band of noble youths whom he had selected and formed into a company for his amusement: at the same time he openly shewed his dissatisfaction at his sister the Tsarevna Sophia's retaining the government. Her favourite and lover the Prince Basil Galitsin, notwithstanding his two unsuccessful expeditions to the Crimea, was covered with honours, and succeeded in throwing the blame which belonged to himself upon the Hetman Samuelovich. The hetman was most unjustly banished to Siberia, and in his place they appointed a captain of Cossacks, the false and crafty Mazepa. In a state of no less disorder were the internal affairs also of the kingdom, while Peter now seventeen years old and already a giant both in mind and body, could not endure to remain under female rule, and demanded that his sister should yield up the honours of sovereignty. So determined was he on this point, that once on occasion of a religious procession he absolutely refused to walk with her side by side, and went off in anger to the village of Preobrajensk, the usual place of his royal studies and labours. A new mutiny of the Streltsi which was secretly excited by Sophia, and a conspiracy against the life of the young Tsar, were the consequences of this reckless conduct. But Peter had well-wishers who gave him timely notice of the danger, and succeeded in retiring in safety to the Trinity Lavra, where the members of the royal family and the patriarch himself gradually gathered themselves together around him. The Streltsi confounded at this new failure returned to their duty, and awaited the Tsar in the capital with a peace-offering of the heads of their ringleaders. The authoress of the rebellion was also discovered, whose confidence Shaklovity the prefect of the department for the Streltsi had enjoyed. It was to no purpose that the

CHAP. XIV.

Tsarevna and the patriarch entreated Peter to pardon Sophia: they were all themselves too well convinced of her criminal designs: equally to no purpose was it that Sophia went in person to the monastery to beg for mercy; she was not admitted to see her brother. The conspirators were capitally punished; she herself was forced to receive the tonsure in the Novodäivichy convent, where the ambitious Sophia was transformed into the humble nun Susannah. Peter became the governor and autocrat of Russia, for the feeble and sickly John was Tsar only in name, and by remaining constantly in Moscow gave his enterprising brother an opportunity of travelling throughout Russia, of examining her capabilities and resources, and so adapting his own vast genius to that immense empire which at his powerful bidding was suddenly to burst forth and grow into the ninth part of the world.

The primates of Little and Great Russia both died about the same time. The place of the metropolitan of Kieff was filled by Barlaam the superior of the Pechersky, and he went like his predecessor to be consecrated at Moscow, but found the Patriarch Joachim no longer living. Having promoted Peter's election at the first, and his actual succession afterwards, this true guardian of the kingdom during the minority of his two sovereigns, and zealous promoter of learning under the patronage of Theodore and Sophia, ruled the Church for only one year after the actual accession of the youthful Peter. With Peter's mother the pious Tsaritsa Natalia he was grieved at the spirit of innovation and the partiality for foreign customs, which were already apparent in the royal youth. These feelings he poured forth in an eloquent testamentary exhortation, in which he implored the Tsar to adhere firmly to the national maxims which he had received from his ancestors, for the welfare and establishment of Russia.

CHAP. XV.

THE PATRIARCHS.

X. ADRIAN.

It is to be regretted that after such a distinguished pastor as Joachim, Adrian the aged metropolitan of Kazan should have been elected to the patriarchal chair: for though he was adorned with episcopal virtues, he was ill qualified to appreciate the necessity of those changes which fermented in the creative mind of Peter, and which circumstances themselves imperiously required. For from the time of the Tsar Alexis and the enterprising Nikon every thing in the kingdom had been tending gradually to a settled order of improvement and civilization, although not so rapidly as Peter effected it. Opinions of the boyars and prelates unfavourable to all his undertakings frequently reached the ears of the sovereign; and unfortunately his habits of intercourse with foreigners of low rank, whom he had invited into his dominions for the equipment of his fleet and the training of his forces, gave ground for the common complaints; and they who condemned him were unable to distinguish his great actions from such weaknesses as are incidental to human nature. Peter on the other hand who had passed through so many trials from his childhood, and had been obliged in all the heat of youth to moderate his anger against those who threw impediments in the way of his projects, for both his mother and his elder brother were generally of the same mind with the boyars and the patriarch, looked with no

CHAP. XV.

friendly feeling upon Adrian, whom he regarded as the representative of antiquated prejudices contending against his own bright genius. The creative spirit of Peter having once formed to itself in idea Russia—the object of his ardent affections—such as she was to become hereafter, from thenceforward, as if he had her actually before his eyes, was offended whenever his contemporaries were unable to divine that which only their posterity, after the lapse of a century, were to see—the embodying of his idea in the Russia of our times.

However, the patriarch himself, together with the prelates and boyars of the first rank, all joined in giving pecuniary contributions for the construction of the first Russian fleet, when Peter having conquered his natural aversion to water first on the still lake of Pereyaslavla, and then on the rough waves of the White sea, began to build vessels at Voronege for the reduction of Azoff. At this time the pastoral virtues of Metrophanes, first bishop of Voronege, and since reckoned among the saints, shone conspicuously. In him the great Peter found a true friend and assistant in his labours, while he was occupied there with the formation of his fleet, and at the same time no less a zealous and uncompromising maintainer of the doctrines of the Church, in defence of which he was ready to have laid down his life[1].

Other bright lights also shone at the same time in the now united Church of Great and Little Russia. In the North two zealous refuters of the heresies of their times, Athanasius archbishop of Kholmogori, and Ignatius metropolitan of Siberia, of the family of the Romano-Corsakoffs, strove both by word and deed to counteract those pernicious schisms with which their remote dioceses were infected. Three Letters or Charges of Ignatius, together with other Pastoral Admonitions, contain a description of the evil commencements of these heresies; and the Patriarch Adrian himself following the example of his predecessor, wrote against them a controversial book, called the Shield of the Orthodox Faith. In the South, under the paternal wing of the sage

Barlaam Yasinsky, appeared two distinguished churchmen who afterwards exercised a most important influence on the destinies of the Russian Church, St. Demetrius, and Stephen Yavorsky. The first of these after having received a very superior education in the schools of Kieff and Lithuania, had sequestered himself for a long time in the convent of Batourin, the place of the residence of the hetmans,—and there Barlaam entrusted to him the continuation of a work commenced by Peter Mogila and Innocentius Gizel, on the lives of the Greek and Russian saints, which had been collected in the MS. copies of the Great Chetee-Menáë of the Metropolitan Macarius in the reign of John IV. This vast and important work which was encouraged by letters of commendation from the Patriarch Adrian, occupied the whole life of St. Demetrius, and still remains a rich treasure of spiritual edification to feed the souls of Christians, exciting them to the imitation of those saints whose labours and conflicts it records. The other of the two, Stephen, as yet only Preacher of the Word of God in Kieff, was destined to be called to the arduous duty of feeding the whole Church of Russia, and carrying into effect the bold designs of Peter, with a firm and vigilant adherence at the same time to the principles of Orthodoxy.

After the capture of Azoff, which crowned with glory the first military enterprise of the Tsar, and after the death of his brother John, which was marked to him by a fresh mutiny of the Streltsi, Peter determined to gratify his thirst for information by visiting foreign countries. He committed the government of the kingdom to the Prince Romodanofsky with the title of Cæsar, in conjunction with the boyars who were related to him, and the patriarch; and set out himself on his travels, following in the suite a Grand Embassy, in which his Preceptor Lefort appeared as the chief person. His route lay through Prussia to Holland, where the Tsar throwing off all his greatness devoted some months as a common workman to the acquisition of the art of ship-building, but his divesting himself of his outward splendour only made the inward bright-

CHAP. XV.

ness of his genius to shew more clearly, as a lamp burning brighter in the dark. England in her turn presented herself to the inquisitive observation of Peter. The Roman Emperor Leopold conferred with him in Vienna on the question of war or peace with Turkey, whose power under the Great Soliman had become a cause of apprehension to Europe. The death of John Sobiesky and the election of another king by the restless republic of Poland also occupied the mind of Peter. He favoured the pretensions of Augustus Elector of Saxony, and sent some regiments of Streltsi to assist him; but this service served as a pretext for their last mutiny, and hastened the return of the Tsar.

A dreadful fate awaited the guilty. Peter, rendered severe by so many revolts, resolved utterly to extirpate this hotbed of mutiny in the capital. Many thousands were sent away to different distant towns; and many hundreds were condemned to public execution. In vain the patriarch moved by feelings of humanity went in solemn procession with the Icon of Vladimir, to entreat Peter to have mercy. The mildness of the prelate only the more provoked the monarch, who saw that their strict punishment would be productive of the general good, and therefore rejected the intercession of Adrian. The Tsarevna Sophia was placed under still closer inspection in her monastic cell, on account of the designs of the Streltsi, who wished to see her again on the throne; and at the same time another sister named Martha was compelled to receive the tonsure in the same monastery on account of certain family quarrels. Even the young wife of Peter herself, the Tsaritsa Eudocia, of the family of the Lopouchins, did not escape the same sad fate: her fixed attachment to those old-fashioned opinions, which were so offensive to the sovereign, destined her to be confined in the convent of Souzdal during the whole course of Peter's reign.

After his return from abroad, his inclination for foreign customs and dress became still more apparent than before, and he resolved to introduce them gradually amongst his

subjects, that he might in this way make them approach more rapidly to European civilization. The beards and kaftans of the boyars gradually disappeared in obedience to the will of Peter; but the clergy and the lower classes retained what they had inherited from their ancestors. Peter also changed certain usages which did not correspond with his way of thinking;—such as the solemn procession of the patriarch on an ass on Palm Sunday, which had crept in amongst us from the West, and which the Patriarch Joachim also had already forbidden the other prelates to observe: also another custom, of all the people kissing the Tsar and the patriarch on the square of the Kremlin during what was called the Act of the New Year. He even transferred the festival of the new year itself to the first of January, so as to make it agree with the custom of the rest of Europe; he did not, however, venture to introduce the Gregorian Calendar; and notwithstanding so great a change in the civil and ecclesiastical reckoning, the festival of the new year of 1700 passed over without the slightest disturbance.

The aged patriarch, however, who was worn out with disease, was offended, and refused to officiate at the solemn liturgy, which Cornelius metropolitan of Novogorod celebrated in his absence in the cathedral of the Assumption, and complimented the Tsar on the new year. Adrian was still more disquieted when Peter, meditating great reforms and alterations, invited all the Functionaries of the first rank in the kingdom to assist him in correcting the national code and in forming a new one, with a clear separation between the provinces of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The patriarch, during the last days of his life, and whilst he was standing with one foot already in the grave, gave orders in vain for a collection to be made and copied out of the rights and privileges of the Russian Church, beginning with the Nomo-canon and the edicts of Vladimir and Yaroslaff, and including also the Tallies of the Khans of the Hordes, granted to the great prelates Peter, Alexis, and their successors: lastly, like Joachim, he exhorted with tears the boyars who

CHAP. XV.

were to form the code to respect all these privileges and rights, and not to depart from the maxims of their ancestors. He departed this life at the end of the year 1700, and with him the personal dignity of patriarch in the Russian Church came to an end.

CHAP. XVI.

STEPHEN GUARDIAN OF THE PATRIARCHATE.

Triphyllius metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, in quality of vicar of the patriarchal diocese, directed during the last days of Adrian, and some time after his decease, the affairs of the Church. But by the providence of God there was prepared to take the place of the patriarch, an illustrious successor who had been already consecrated bishop before his death. This was Stephen Yavorsky. The penetration of Peter had discovered his merit when he was sent to the capital by Barlaam, the metropolitan of Kieff, to obtain a confirmation of the privileges of the Schools of Little Russia. On that occasion he preached an eloquent sermon at the funeral of the Boyar Shein, who had been a favourite of the Tsar. The monarch, touched with the sweetness of his discourse, ordered the humble hegumen of the lone convent of St. Nicholas to be promoted at once to the metropolitan chair of Riazan; and the heart of the Tsar was again in the hands of God, when he passed over all the senior metropolitans of Great Russia, and chose the same Stephen to be guardian of the patriarchal throne; for he, profiting by the Tsar's confidence, with a steadfast faith and firm purpose presided over the Russian Church during a period of great changes in the state, taking his stand, as became a good pastor, on the immutable ordinances of the Church.

He found a faithful fellow-labourer in his attached friend Demetrius archimandrite of the Seversky monastery, whom Peter had brought also to the capital in order to have him consecrated metropolitan of Siberia. The monarch was personally acquainted with that holy man, who had already become celebrated for his work of writing the lives of the

CHAP. XVI.

saints, and who laboured to diffuse that learning for which the Church of Little Russia was distinguished throughout the North. But Demetrius from his weak state of health was not capable of undertaking the journey to his distant diocese, and through the intervention of Stephen he was translated to Rostoff to take the place of the Metropolitan Joseph there deceased. From thence he was destined to illuminate by his virtues and learning the whole Church of Russia, which he edified for the space of seven years, as a zealous and uncompromising maintainer of Orthodoxy and refuter of its enemies, as an annalist, as a preacher, and above all, as a man of prayer. Thus the all-embracing heart of Demetrius united itself already with every Christian heart of his earthly country, before he began to receive prayers from those whom he had taught to pray.

Such a spiritual support was needful for the faith of Stephen, who was to be exercised with no light responsibility. Soon after the death of Adrian, the Patriarchal Court was closed, which had exercised jurisdiction over all the affairs of the Church, not only those which were properly spiritual or related to members of the clergy, but also all that related to their estates, property, and civil suits; for from the time that the Monastery Court had been put an end to by the Tsar Theodore all suits against spiritual persons had proceeded only in the Patriarchal Court of Requests. They were sometimes indeed taken up to the Court of the Inner Palace, that is, to the decision of the monarch in person, when any partiality of the judges, in any affair in which they were themselves interested from relationship to the parties concerned, was discovered. Peter ordered all the causes which were pending to be referred for final decision to the different government tribunals, according to the nature of each, and the order of civil suits; and by this means all matters of inheritance, wills, and sacrilege, which had hitherto belonged to the spiritual jurisdiction, were transferred to the civil. But those matters which were strictly ecclesiastical, relating either to hierarch-

ical discipline or to doctrine, he committed to the cognizance of the metropolitan of Riazan, as president of the Spiritual Patriarchal Court, even before he was appointed Guardian. However, in a very short time, all suits against spiritual persons were restored back to the Patriarchal Court, and on the representation of the Metropolitan Stephen, the ordinary Ecclesiastical Court for the enforcement of discipline among the Clergy was re-opened.

At the same time that he suppressed the Patriarchal Court of Requests, the Tsar re-established in full force the Monastery Court, which had been recognised by the code of his father, and separating it completely from the Spiritual Court, placed it under the presidency of the Boyar Mousin Poushkin. To his cognizance, judgment, and jurisdiction, were subjected all the peasantry and other persons, and all the numerous estates which had formerly been under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchal or Diocesan Courts, as well as all the rich properties of the monasteries, of which an inventory was at the same time made. These were no longer managed by the bursars and the senior members of the communities, but by Officers of the Tsar's Table, without any dependence on the local Voivodes or on the Governors, and were immediately subject to the Monastery Court, into which all the proceeds arising from them were paid. The number of the religious was limited also in every convent by edict; "white" (i. e. lay, or secular) brethren and sisters, who lived idly in the convents without seeking the tonsure, were all expelled; and a fixed age was appointed for the tonsure, which was not to be earlier than forty years for nuns, and thirty for monks. Such a provision as should be a security against absolute want was assigned to every monk; ten roubles[1] a-year, and ten chetverts[2] of bread instead of their former rich revenues, which were applied partly to the current necessities of the state, and partly to the foundation of hospitals and the maintenance of poor soldiers, who were quartered as pensioners in the monasteries. Those convents, however, which from their poverty had always been supported by the royal bounty still continued to enjoy it, and thus the

CHAP. XVI.

whole order of the religious properly so called, which was at that time very numerous, was preserved in all its integrity, though deprived of its worldly superfluities. In like manner also the chief spiritual authorities, each according to their rank, began to receive from this time certain fixed rates of allowances and salaries in lieu of their estates which had been transferred to the Monastery Court, and in lieu of those ecclesiastical dues which they had been used of old to receive from each parish in their dioceses. Such was the system under which Church property continued to be administered down to the institution of the Most Holy Synod.

Such were the regulations of Peter regarding the Church, while he adopted similar means of organizing all the different branches of the civil government; increasing the revenues by a better method of taxation, putting down luxury, and entering even into all the details of civil and domestic life; establishing printing presses and schools, forming and giving a new alphabet to the common spoken language, encouraging trade and commerce by the institution of guilds or corporations, in order that the mercantile classes might the better manage their own matters, and lastly creating both a fleet and an army at the severest period of her trials, when Russia groaned beneath the Swedish invasion.

The necessity of a port on the shores of the Baltic for communication with Europe, and the pride of the Swedes on the accession of their youthful hero Charles XII. to the throne, induced Peter to conclude a triple alliance with Frederic king of Denmark, and Augustus of Poland. The northern war, which for twenty-two years had been a cause of alarm to Russia, at length burst into a flame. Its commencement was unfortunate for us. Charles quickly reduced Denmark, and turned all his forces against Russia, and under the walls of Narva, which our troops were then besieging, almost entirely destroyed our inexperienced army, the creation of the first efforts of Peter. It improved, however, by combating with the Swedish generals during the conquest of Livonia and Ingria, while the daring Tsar, in the very midst of the theatre

of war, laid the foundations of his new capital, while Charles was engaged in Poland, where he defeated Augustus at every step, got possession of both his capitals, Warsaw and Cracow, and at length raised Stanislaff Leschinsky to the throne of the conquered kingdom. CHAP. XVI.

He then turned back again upon Russia, and having rejected all overtures of peace, marched with his victorious army into the Ukraine, where he reckoned on the secret treason of the Hetman Mazeppa. But Charles, though he might compare himself to Alexander the Great, did not find a Darius in Peter, who every where watched and followed his enemy, cutting off his communications with other Swedish corps, which were fortunately not concentrated on one point. The treason of Mazeppa was discovered in time for him to prevent the Ukraine from rising, and three prelates, the metropolitan of Kieff, with his vicar, and the archbishop of Chernigoff, delivered over at Glouchoff to an anathema the traitor who had forgotten all the benefits he had received from the Tsar. He appeared with only a few adherents in the camp of the Swedish king. The Swedish army laid siege to Poltava, and on its plains the two giants of the North met in battle for the first time. Charles though wounded was carried through the ranks in a litter, and animated his warriors who had grown old in battle; Peter filled with love for his country begged his men to forget Peter for the sake of Russia, that Russia to whom this day of Peter's life is memorable for ever. Under his blows the Swedish army was broken and vanished away, as if it had never been the terror of Russia. The king and the hetman fled together beyond the Steppes of the Ukraine and the Tartars, and only halted on the banks of the Dniester. The traitor Mazeppa died in Bender, but before this took place, Skoropadsky had been appointed hetman in his room. 1709.

The zeal of the Tsar founded a monastery in the name of the Chiefs of the Apostles on the field of Poltava; and in memory of the day itself of the battle a church was erected in the new capital by the name of St. Sampson the Receiver of Strangers. The conqueror made his public entry into Kieff,

CHAP. XVI.

and was met with a grand procession by the metropolitan Joasaph Krokofsky, who had been archimandrite of the Lavra, and had been consecrated a year before to succeed Barlaam on his decease; and Theophanes Procopovich, then prefect of the Academy, pronounced an eloquent complimentary oration before the Tsar. It was on this occasion that he first attracted the notice of the monarch by the agreeable eloquence of his speech, and by the show of that profound learning which he had acquired in the Uniate and Romish schools. His desire for learning had influenced Theophanes to such a degree that he even temporarily deserted Orthodoxy at Rome, and afterwards shewed the same leaning[3] in the doctrines of the faith when he attained a higher rank in the Russian hierarchy. The inhabitants of both the capitals went out with no less solemnity to meet the victor. Europe, which had been hitherto stunned with the noise of the victories of Charles, heard with astonishment of the exploits of Peter, and began to regard with lively attention the rising power of Russia.

In the midst of his military exploits, Peter did not forget our Orthodox brethren in the Faith who were suffering in Lithuania and Poland from the violence of the Uniates, and taking advantage of the rights of an ally he pressingly demanded of Augustus that a stop should be put to their persecution. Notwithstanding the conditions of the peace of 1686, by which the king, John Sobiesky, had bound himself to grant free exercise of their religion to the dioceses of Loutsk, Galich, Peremuishla, Lvoff, and White Russia, with the confirmation of their former privileges, all these engagements were continually violated by the turbulent Schlacti, and the independent nobles of Poland. These by force of arms took away churches and monasteries, trampled upon holy things, tortured the ministers of the altar, and exposed the Orthodox to such indignities as neither Jews nor Mahometans had ever endured at their hands. From the wretched circumstances of the time, many of the bishops themselves, Innocentius of Peremuishla, Joseph of Lvoff, and Cyprian, formerly of

Polotsk, and afterwards metropolitan of those who had fallen away, went over to the party of the Uniates, and became in their turn persecutors of Orthodoxy. Two only remained to maintain it, and one of these, Cyrill of Loutsk, was compelled to fly from his diocese to Kieff, and received that of Pereyaslavla with the title of Vicar; while the bishop of Mogileff, the Prince Silvester Chetvertinsky, with difficulty kept possession of his chair. All the Orthodox monasteries cried out to Peter as their only protector, who learned by experience the truth of their complaints; for he was himself exposed to insult and even danger from the Uniate monks, when he visited their Church in Polotsk. But all the letters and entreaties and even threats of the Tsar were unavailing with King Augustus. The redress of grievances was deferred from one Diet to another, and the Orthodox were obliged to content themselves with bare promises on the part of the Polish government for the future amelioration of their lot.

The struggle between Peter the Great and Charles XII. was not entirely terminated by the glorious victory of Poltava. While the Tsar was enabled by his victory to give his powerful hand to raise up Augustus of Poland, and renewed with him and with Denmark the Northern alliance, his enemy as in desperation was fortifying himself on the banks of the Dniester, and never ceased from thence to urge the Sultan to break the peace then existing with Russia, till at length he attained his end. Peter never desired peace more than at this juncture, as, profiting by his success at Poltava, he had now begun to carry into effect his great plans in the interior of the kingdom. At the time that he was constantly absent in some part or other of his vast dominions, he instituted the Governing Senate, in which the superior administration was to be concentrated, and on which all its different branches were to depend. To this senate, composed of the highest dignitaries of the empire, he entrusted the care of Russia when he himself was obliged to take the field again to repel the armies of the Sultan, which had advanced upon the Danube. Catherine, the new consort of the Tsar, accompanied him for the salva-

CHAP. XVI.

tion of the country. Both the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were favourably disposed towards Russia, but Cantimir of Moldavia alone remained faithful to Peter; nor did Peter on the other side desert him at the most painful moment of his life; for when he was suddenly surrounded by superior numbers of the enemy on the banks of the Pruth, he refused to deliver up the hospodar to the Turks. Catherine inclined the low-minded vizir by her gold to conclude a peace, which cost us Azoff and all Peter's youthful conquests, but preserved Peter himself to Russia. The imperial crown was Catherine's reward. For five years longer Charles continued his efforts to renew the war, and would not let the Sultan be at rest, till at length he was compelled to leave the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Attended by a single foreigner he galloped off for Sweden, which he seemed to have forgotten, and which was then sinking under the blows of the Northern alliance, to which Prussia, Hanover, Holland, and England had acceded. In the mean time Livonia, Ingria, and a part of Finland in the neighbourhood of the new capital, had become the permanent possession of Russia.

In the midst of unceasing military operations and in spite of them the internal improvement of the country advanced. Every interval of peace was signalized by civil institutions in all departments of government, to which Peter for the sake of system and regularity endeavoured by degrees to give the form of Colleges: for he placed more confidence in the counsel of many than in the discretion of a single individual. And so after the institution of the Senate followed that of Colleges, first for Foreign Affairs, then for War, and so on with others, while the whole of Russia was divided into eight vast Governments. Not only were a fleet and an army formed amid the thunder of war, but the Tsar, with an eye which embraced every thing, observed all the springs of wealth in his dominions, and by his powerful word called them into action. Learning also was increased, both temporal and spiritual, by multiplying the number of schools of every description, and by sending Russian youths to travel in the civilized countries of the West.

CHAP. XVI.

The Metropolitan Stephen co-operated zealously with the Tsar for the promotion of learning, and took upon himself the title of Protector of the Academy of Moscow, which he enlarged, and regulated after the model of that of Kieff. Demetrius also continued to be a shining light till the time of his blessed decease in his diocese of Rostoff, where he founded and himself superintended a seminary. By degrees, after his example, schools were instituted at all the episcopal residences for the education of those who were to minister in holy things, which were afterwards converted into seminaries. Job metropolitan of Novogorod, a man full of Christian piety, besides other charitable foundations, established in his diocese as many as fourteen spiritual schools; and the better to ensure their success, he called to his aid from the Hypatieff monastery the two long-forgotten brethren, the Lichoudi, who had been pining for fifteen years in confinement. Joannicius and Sophronius, as two lights suddenly brought out from underneath the bushel, shed forth learning and instruction in these schools. Sophronius the younger of the two was sent to Moscow after a printing press, and was detained there by the guardian of the patriarchal throne for the purpose of regulating the Academy, and to him, in conjunction with its learned Rector Theophylact Lopatinsky, who was to suffer for the truth, was committed the task of continuing that revision and correction of the Slavonic Bible which had been commenced by Epiphanius. After the death of the Metropolitan Job, Joannicius also removed to the capital, in order to take a share in the labours of his brother in the Academy; and there he shortly after died; but Sophronius, who was raised to the rank of an archimandrite, attained to extreme old age.

But at the same time with this improvement in learning there shewed itself also in our country a mischief which had come in secretly and had taken dangerous root. Travellers and foreigners had brought into Russia the anti-ecclesiastical doctrine of Luther and Calvin, which by its contempt of established rites and ceremonies and discipline, by its prin-

CHAP. XVI.

ciple of the right of private judgment in the mysteries of religion favoured greatly irreverence, and individualism or self-will. The Orthodox Eastern Church feared not the influence of the Western Church, for she had been used openly to contend with her on the borders of Poland; and the violences of the Unia had embittered the hearts of all Russians so much against Rome, that there was no danger from that quarter. But we had never up to this time had any actual conflict with the German innovators: the accession of the Baltic provinces, and the useful labours of foreigners whom Peter had invited into Russia, involuntarily brought us in friendly contact with them. Their superiority in worldly civilization, and the very fact of their being seen on State-occasions to attend at the ceremonies[4] of our Church, conciliated towards them many of the inexperienced, who knew not how to distinguish where the bounds of secular acquirement end, and that spiritual wisdom begins, which, according to the words of Christ, is hid from the wise and prudent but revealed to the simple and to babes.

It was in the neighbourhood of the Northern capital, where the confluence of strangers was greatest, that these opinions began to be diffused, though they were vigorously opposed by the virtuous Job, metropolitan of Novogorod. He moved the two zealous brothers, the Lichoudi, to take up their arms in defence of the foundations of Orthodoxy, which seemed to be attacked, and they composed a book in refutation of the new heresy, which received the benedictions of the four Œcumenical patriarchs, the natural guardians of the true religion. Nor did the metropolitan Stephen either, the guardian of the throne of Moscow, remain an indifferent spectator, since the same heresy had broken out also in the other capital, where its chief propagator was one Demetrius Tveritinoff, an army-surgeon in the corps of the Streltsi. He had lived long with a foreign physician, and had learned from him not only his medical science but also his religious opinions; and so he began to spread objections and revilings against the Icons, the Relics, the Liturgy, the invocation of the Saints, and the

commemorations of the departed. Many of the Streltsi and artisans adhered to him, and carried their audacity to such a pitch, that one of these revilers, a barber named Thomas Ivanoff, even openly insulted the Icon of St. Alexis the metropolitan in the Choudoff monastery. The most reverend Stephen in the first instance made secret enquiries into this affair, and reported it to the sovereign, and afterwards by his desire convoked at Moscow a council of the neighbouring Bishops, Ignatius of Sarai, Barlaam of Tver, and Joannicius a Greek, metropolitan of Stauropolis. There in the patriarchal palace, after a due examination and admonition, those who remained impenitent were anathematized, while the authors of the heresy themselves were delivered up to be judged and punished by the civil authority. But not satisfied with correcting the mischief for that one time, the Metropolitan Stephen, as a faithful pastor with a paternal anxiety for his flock, collected into one book all those lying subtleties, and shewed how they are clearly rejected by the doctrine of the Church; and this book he entitled the "Rock of Faith," a rock to crush all the enemies of Orthodoxy. The doctrines of the Holy Icons and Relics, of the Sign of the Venerable Cross, of Tradition, of the Mystery of the most pure Body and Blood of Christ, of the Invocation of Angels and Saints, and especially of the most immaculate Virgin, and lastly, of the State of Souls after Death, and of Prayers for the Departed, were presented in their due fulness and clearness for the benefit of all followers after piety, with the casting down of every proud imagination which exalts itself against the true doctrine of the Church. In his preface the meek Stephen spoke thus humbly of himself, "It is ours to administer medicine, but God's only to cure. This 'Rock' is hard (so he called his book) answering to the barrenness of my soul; but even from this rock God can raise up children unto Abraham, and can cause water to flow from a worm, giving drink unto life eternal."

The Guardian exhibited no less zeal in crushing another evil which had taken root in Russia from the impunity enjoyed by the schismatics, and the ignorance of their leaders.

CHAP. XVI.

His writings concerning the time of the coming of Antichrist, and the end of the world, dissipated those mischievous interpretations which were craftily spread through the capital that Antichrist had already appeared, and that the end was at hand. Notwithstanding however the prudent measures of the government which forbade the giving of any public offices to schismatics, and imposed on them a double tribute for their obstinacy, the unsettled state of Russia, amid constant wars and changes, gave opportunities to the ill-disposed of eluding detection and punishment. The frontiers of Livonia and Pskoff were by degrees filled with colonies of schismatics. The congregations of dissenters on the sea coast, though by no means agreeing among themselves, increased in numbers in the recesses of the woods and marshes of Olonetz, as well as in the uncultivated wilds of Perm and Siberia. Vetka, being within the frontiers of Poland, was a still more inaccessible settlement, where in fourteen villages lived more than 30,000 of the Old Ceremonialists of the Popoftshin, or Presbyterian branch of Dissent. The Polish landed proprietors received them favourably from considerations of private interest. The influence of Vetka was extraordinarily great, for in it there was a church by the name of the Protection of the Blessed Virgin, which was the only one the schismatics had, and from thence they carried out supplies of the consecrated Gifts to every part of Russia, often however not without some deception. In some places the oldest people of that way boasted that they had preserved Gifts which had been consecrated before the apostasy in the time of Nikon, and these they sacrilegiously mixed up with new dough to serve for administration to the ignorant people whom they deluded. Not far from Vetka were established the equally numerous colonies of Starodouboff[5], the state of which became still more flourishing when, in reward for the zeal they had shewn against the traitor Mazeppa, they received various privileges and grants of land.

In the forests of Nijgorod there was another nest got

together at about the same time with the settlement of Vetka and the spread of the Pomorians, by a runaway disciple of the Pope Habbakuk, whose name was Onuphrius. After his death a deacon named Alexander, disapproving of certain ceremonies, originated a new sect for himself which received from him the name of Diaconarians; but it was not nearly so numerous as that of the Presbyterians, which, by the accession of runaway monks and Streltsi, spread itself down the banks of the Volga and the Don. The Tsar, who was attentive to every thing, wishing to attack the schism in its very heart and centre, chose for bishop of Nijgorod Pitirim, a man who had once lived in Vetka but had returned to the Church, that through his personal experience he might be the better able to expose and refute the deceits of the false teachers. Accordingly, as soon as he was consecrated, he engaged with all pastoral diligence in this difficult business, and himself more than once visited the colonies of the schismatics which were scattered about in the woods. By replying in a reasonable and satisfactory manner to all the questions of these bewildered men, he brought them to doubt the truth of their doctrines, and at length attained the end he desired; for the Deacon Alexander, and the chief elders of his sect, confessed their errors, and were reconciled to the Church. And though in the sequel the inconstant deacon relapsed into his former schism, and suffered the punishment he deserved, still his former adherents remained firm in the true faith. A book written by this Bishop Pitirim under the title of The Spiritual Sling, remains still to afford a salutary medicine to such as may be disposed to relinquish error, as does also another by Demetrius, bishop of Rostoff, entitled, An Examination of the Faith of the Brinsky Dissenters, by which he confuted the gainsayers of his diocese.

A new expedition of the Tsar beyond the frontiers for the purpose of confirming the northern alliance, during the continuance of his military operations, was marked at once by political disappointments from the inconstancy of his allies, and by family afflictions from the unworthiness of his son.

CHAP. XVI.

In vain did Peter endeavour to prepare a successor worthy of himself in the person of the Tsarevich Alexis; an incapacity for military and civil employment alike early discovered itself in him, as well as a dislike to all the changes effected by his great father. The recollection of the confinement of his mother Eudocia within the walls of the convent of Souzdal, together with the evil counsels of certain lay and spiritual persons who favoured his way of thinking, and hoped to see in him a restorer of the old order of things, completed the moral ruin of Alexis. When threatened with being disinherited and cut off from his right of succession to the throne, he expressed a wish to leave the world; but not having sufficient strength of mind to subdue his grosser passions, he resolved to seek for safety from his harsh father beyond the boundaries of Russia. Peter was in Holland when he received the bitter intelligence of his flight, and sent to seek for his son in the dominions of the Roman emperor, while he himself continued his route to Paris. While he was there, the celebrated Academy of the Sorbonne took advantage of the personal presence of the Russian monarch to make proposals to him for the union of the Western with the Eastern Church; but he prudently declined taking upon himself so weighty a matter, and only promised that he would command the Russian prelates to return an answer to the document which had been presented to him by the Sorbonne.

Peter hastened back to his own dominions whither the guilty Tsarevich, who had been found at Naples, was also soon after brought. He was solemnly deprived of his right of inheritance to the throne, in the ancient capital, and a mixed court, composed both of spiritual and temporal dignitaries, was appointed for his trial. Among his accomplices were found individuals nearly connected with the Tsar, and also some members of the clergy. The former Tsaritsa, Eudocia, was again implicated, and found to have turned to a bad use the liberty allowed her in Souzdal; while it appeared that her ambitious views had been favoured by Dositheus, bishop of

Rostoff, and by the Tsar's sister, the Tsarevna Maria, making three, with Sophia and Martha, to rise up against their brother. She was confined in the fortress of Shlüsselbourg, and the Tsaritsa was closely imprisoned in the convent of Nova-Ladoga. He was the only one upon whom his father hesitated to pronounce sentence, although his treasonable intentions had been now fully detected; he waited till such time as he should make a full confession, and transferred the Court of Inquiry to the new capital. The Tsarevich, however, made only partial confessions, and acted undecidedly. At length the sovereign overcame the father, and sentence of death was pronounced against him by a mixed court, composed both of civil and ecclesiastical persons; but the mere announcement of this so struck the Tsarevich, that he died suddenly. He left an infant son named Peter, who became thus the heir apparent to the throne, another infant of the same name, born to Peter the Great of Catherine, having died before him.

About this period Peter delivered to the Guardian of the patriarchal throne and the bishops that were with him the memorial which he had received from the Sorbonne. It was a document of some length, in which the Parisian doctors enlarged upon the agreement of the two Churches, in their doctrines, sacraments, and traditions, in their reverencing of holy relics and Icons, in invocation of the saints, and ecclesiastical discipline. They touched superficially on the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit, endeavouring to interpret the correct Greek expression of the mission of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son, by the incorrect Latin addition to the Creed concerning the procession being "also from the Son;" and in testimony of their desire for peace, proposed the example of the Uniates, with whom the Greek Creed had remained unaltered by the permission of the pope. Still more slightly did the Sorbonne speak of the pope, dwelling on all the liberties of the Gallican Church, and calling him only the first according to seniority among the other bishops his equals, according to the testimony of the

CHAP. XVI.

ancient Fathers, and rejecting his infallibility, made him subject to the authority of the Catholic Church as expressed by a general council.

But however plausible this request for peace might be in appearance, the Russian bishops replied to it with becoming prudence; they expressed on their own side their wish for that unity, for which the Orthodox Church perpetually prays in all her Services. But they remarked to the Sorbonne, that this was an affair which, from its great importance, could not depend on the particular determinations of a party of divines; but that the whole Western Church, together with the whole Eastern, must have part in one common agreement, and that therefore for the present they must rest contented with learned communications on theological subjects, lest by a new league with a foreign Church, they should endanger their ancient unity with the four Œcumenical and Orthodox thrones. The Metropolitan Stephen, with two archbishops, Barnabas of Kholmogori and Theophanes of Pskoff, subscribed this answer. The answer itself was the composition of Theophanes, who had been lately called to the capital from Kieff, and already took a great share in the affairs of the Church.

The extraordinary talents of Theophanes for every kind of business, and his profound and varied knowledge, both secular and ecclesiastical, his zeal for learning, which he constantly promoted even out of his own private revenues, having formed a large seminary adjoining his own house, drew upon him the particular regards of the sovereign; while his acuteness of mind, and his lively and sociable character, with which Peter became acquainted during his Turkish campaign, had linked the Tsar's heart to his companion, who was at that time still rector of the Academy of Kieff. But the Metropolitan Stephen, the illustrious Guardian of the Church of Russia, having known in Kieff the history of Theophanes from the beginning[6], did not look with equal favour on this new fellow-labourer. He placed no confidence in that learning which he had acquired in the West, and mistrusted besides the lively turn of his character, which inclined him to favour the

religious innovations of foreigners of other creeds. Having placed his own "Rock of Faith" as a rock of offence against their doctrines, this great churchman thought it part of his pastoral duty to rebuke Theophanes, who had been elected bishop of Pskoff, for those erroneous theological opinions which he had taught in the Academy of Kieff. But this rebuke was disregarded by Theophanes, and served only as a motive with him for enmity against Stephen.

But in the meantime, notwithstanding the proposals of the Sorbonne, made from one particular quarter, for a union of the Churches, the so-called Unia was fiercer and more inveterate than it had ever been before, in its persecution of Orthodoxy. The new metropolitan of the Uniates, Leo Kishka, the successor of Cyprian, had succeeded in a council convoked at Zamost, in openly establishing the Unia throughout all the dioceses which were under the government of Poland, and in having the deposition of all Bishops adhering to Orthodoxy recognised as legitimate. A constitution of the Diet ratified this act of violence with only one exception, which was in favour of the see of Mogileff. Some few monasteries and churches which had remained entire in Lithuania and Volhynia, though oppressed by taxes and contributions, were now deprived of the remainder of their property. The clergy endured every species of oppression and insult: the sacred vessels and ornaments were taken away by violence, and the Holy Mysteries themselves were trampled under foot: the estates of the monasteries were spoiled without there being any to defend them; while such of the petty nobility and proprietors as were Orthodox, were excluded from holding any public office. The bishop of Mogileff himself, the Prince Sviatopolk Chetvertinsky Silvester, was wounded, and then imprisoned by the violence of the Poles. Two of the Uniate bishops, the bishop of Smolensk, and especially Innocentius of Peremuishla, made it all but impossible for any of the Orthodox to live in their dioceses: it was in vain that the persecuted cried out for protection. The Tsar, through his ambassador at Warsaw, interposed in defence of his brethren

CHAP. XVI.

in religion; representing what liberty all Confessions enjoyed in Russia, and demanded the issuing of a commission of enquiry along the frontiers, for examining into the wrongs endured by the Orthodox in Lithuania, White Russia, and Volhynia. He even appointed, on his own side, Roudakofsky as his commissioner at Mogileff. King Augustus and the papal nuntio at Warsaw, the Archbishop Santini, and the pope himself, were gradually influenced by the letters and remonstrances of Peter the Great; but though strict orders were given by Augustus, and though the legate wrote circular letters, and even laid a curse on such as should disobediently disturb the peace of the Church, no effect was obtained. Acts of violence, pillage, imprisonment, and torture, instigated by the fanaticism of the Romans and the Uniates, still continued to contend in the unhappy principality of Lithuania, with the invincible attachment of the Orthodox to the faith of their forefathers. And all this was done with boldness and impunity, although Russia had now gained in strength after her twenty years' struggle with Sweden, and was mistress of the northern coasts, after the formidable Charles who had led them into war had vanished from the field of strife, and his successor had at length concluded with Russia the to her honourable peace of Neustadt, which placed her in a position of security with regard to her external relations.

Confined in the West during the reign of Peter, she extended herself in the East to the extreme boundaries of the ocean, and entered into permanent relations with China. Christianity also continued to be propagated over the immense wilds of Siberia. Theodore, metropolitan of Tobolsk, and the successor of Ignatius, converted 10,000 Ostiacs. By degrees the true faith shed its light also on the Southern dictricts, and the parts about the distant Irkutsk, where there were by this time a good number of Christians, manifested their desire to have a bishop. Innocentius Koulchinsky, who had been appointed head of the spiritual mission to Pekin[7], was consecrated the first bishop of Irkutsk, and laid there a good foundation for the Church, being celebrated for the holiness

of his character during life, and for the discovery of his relics uncorrupted after death. This was a third saint besides those we have mentioned above, Metrophanes and Demetrius, who was contemporary with Peter, and to whom, as to others, it has been given from on high to distinguish themselves by miracles in our own days.

In the midst of the storms of war the new capital of the Tsar, which he had built in spite of all obstacles on the banks of the Neva, continued to grow up and flourish. His will overcame both nature herself and the natural prejudice existing in favour of the ancient capital of Moscow. Churches and buildings, both public and private, gradually sprang up near the poor dwelling of its great founder, and the humble church of the Trinity. There was already a magnificent cathedral church by the name of the Chief Apostles, Peter and Paul. The Nefskay Lavra had also been founded, and placed on an equal footing with the two ancient Lavras of the Pechersky and the Trinity. It only needed further, for its complete establishment, the possession of the relics of the Great Prince Alexander Nefsky, who had acquired so much glory in war in these same parts, where now another conqueror of the Swedes had laid its foundation. And accordingly before long the relics of the holy prince were solemnly translated into it from Vladimir, while Theodosius, the first archimandrite of the Lavra, a man adorned with every pastoral virtue, united with that place the dignity of metropolitan of Novogorod.

The time had at length arrived for settling permanently the affairs of the Church, which had long been left in an indeterminate and provisional state owing to civil and military disturbances. Peter, victorious over all his enemies, with the titles which he had acquired of Emperor and Father of his Country, according to his own expression, "felt no groundless fear in his conscience lest he should shew himself ungrateful to the Most High, if after having been so blessed by Him with success in the improvement of the military and civil departments, he were to neglect the better regulation of the Church."

CHAP. XVI.

This was indeed a business which it was impossible to defer much longer: the Metropolitan Stephen, the virtuous Guardian of the patriarchal throne, who fully merited both the confidence of the Tsar and his high calling, after having held the helm of the Church for twenty years, began to feel the advances of old age, and had no longer the strength requisite for following the energetic Peter in all his movements. He was especially burdened by being obliged to make long residences in the new capital, which as yet afforded none of the conveniences of life, and was altogether out of the way for the government of the Church. As far back as the year 1718, he had complained in a letter to the monarch that he was kept many months in St. Petersburgh in a hired house, at a distance from the church, and still further from the synodal administration confided to him, and from the patriarchal diocese, with the two additional dioceses of Riazan and Tamboff, which had been placed provisionally under his personal charge; that the metropolitan sees of Kieff, Novogorod, Rostoff, and Smolensk, were in the same state of disorder, having been left vacant ever since the death of their respective prelates, while the other bishops, enfeebled by age, were unable to undertake additional charges; that they all resorted to him for advice as the guardian of the patriarchal throne; but that he himself, at a distance from the elder capital, and without any council, was quite unable to satisfy all the demands made upon him, and knew not whom to choose to fill so many vacant sees.

The sovereign replied that a synodal administration alone was capable of answering to the wants of the Church; and afterwards became more and more confirmed in this his rooted opinion, which in the course of a long reign he had gradually reduced to practice by the institution of a Senate and twelve Colleges. He perceived by experience what great advantages accrued to the state from the concentration of the civil government in the senate, and began more decidedly to contemplate the institution of a permanent local synod, the decisions of which might at once be more im-

partial and carry greater weight than those of an individual patriarch.

The composition of a Spiritual Regulation for the guidance of this Governing Synod, was committed to Theophanes, bishop of Pskoff, who in the three parts of the Regulation made an accurate statement of the composition and object of such a government, of the business which belonged to it, and of the duties, operations, and powers of the members themselves, according to the forms of the ancient councils, and the rules of the holy Fathers. Together with the duties of the bishops in respect of this superior administration, and in respect of all religious and secular persons in their dioceses, means were appointed in the Regulation for the correction of manners in the flocks, for their instruction in the doctrines of the Faith, for the eradication of Dissent, and for the training of candidates for holy orders in seminaries to be annexed to every episcopal residence, and in a superior Spiritual Academy which it was proposed to erect.

This important affair was carefully examined and discussed by a council convoked in the new capital at the commencement of the year 1721. The whole of the Regulation was read through in the presence of Stephen guardian of the patriarchal throne, Silvester metropolitan of Smolensk, Pachomius metropolitan of Voronege, of the Bishops Theophanes of Pskoff, Pitirim of Nijgorod, Barlaam of Tver, and Aaron of Carelia, of Theodosius archimandrite of the Nefskay Lavra, five other archimandrites, and seven of the highest civil dignitaries of the state, and was witnessed by them all after it had been signed and confirmed by the Tsar's hand. It was afterwards again subscribed by all the bishops and archimandrites, and hegumens of the first rank in the Russian Church.

CHAP. XVII.

THE MOST HOLY SYNOD.

CHAP. XVII.

And now was solemnly opened in the presence of the Emperor Peter this standing spiritual synod, which was for the future to rule the Russian Church under the name of the Most Holy Governing Synod; and this title was inserted in all the Litanies[1] and prayers where the patriarchs were formerly mentioned. To its administration were committed all the estates of the bishops and monasteries, which had got into disorder under the management of the Monastery Court. The election of bishops, the supreme right of jurisdiction over spiritual persons, except in capital cases, which were to be tried in the different courts, all matters of heresy and schism, as well as of marriages and divorce, which had formerly belonged to the patriarchal Court of Requests, and afterwards had been under the cognizance of the Metropolitan Stephen, the Guardian of the throne, were referred to the jurisdiction of the synod; and the meek Stephen himself, after having so long ruled all the Church, was honoured with the title of President of the Most Holy Synod, with the same voice as the other members; and he executed the duties of this office for two years longer till the time of his blessed decease. He departed this life at Riazan, and was buried there in the magnificent cathedral which he himself had built. Two Vice-presidents were also appointed, Theodosius, who had not long before been consecrated archbishop of Novogorod, and Theophanes of Pskoff. The other members who took part in the consultations of the synod, were Leonidas, archbishop of the Steeps, Gabriel, archimandrite of the Lavra of St. Sergius, the archimandrites of the three Stauropegial monasteries at

Moscow, the Choudoff, the Novospassky, and the Simonoff, the distinguished Theophylact Lopatinsky[2], Hierotheus, and Peter, the Hegumens Athanasius Tolgsky from Yaroslavla, and Barlaam Ougreshsky from near Moscow, one priest-monk named Theophilus, and two arch-priests of the new collegiate churches in St. Petersburgh, John of the Trinity, and Peter of that of the two Chief Apostles. Such was the original composition of the Most Holy Synod[3].

This synodal form of ecclesiastical government was proclaimed to the people throughout all Russia, but there still needed, in order to its permanent establishment, the recognition of the other Eastern Churches, that the unity of the Catholic Church might not be violated. The Emperor Peter had several times during the course of his reign applied to the see of Constantinople, at one time for dispensations for the contraction of marriages with persons of different religions, and for authority to discontinue the previous custom of re-baptizing Lutherans and Calvinists[4] converted to the Orthodox faith, whereas the proper course was to receive such by administering to them only the Mystery of the Holy Chrism or Confirmation; at another time for granting a dispensation from the Fasts to soldiers engaged in actual service in the field; and now on this occasion he wrote a letter with his own hand to the Patriarch Jeremiah. In it he informed him of those necessities of the Russian Church, which had induced him to take it under his special care after the example of other religious sovereigns in old time, and to institute a spiritual synod with authority equal to that of the former patriarchs for its government; and he expressed his hope that Jeremiah also, as the first hierarch of the Eastern Catholic Church, would favourably recognise this institution, and would inform the other most blessed patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, of it, and that he would hold communion and correspondence with the Most Holy Synod in the same way that he formerly had done with the patriarchs of all the Russias.

It is a remarkable fact, that the name of the patriarch to

CHAP. XVII.

whom Peter applied on the institution of the synod, was Jeremiah, the same having been also the name of that prelate with whom the Tsar Theodore held communication at the time of the establishment of the Russian patriarchate. Several other curious coincidences were also noticed: on this occasion, as well as on the former, the person most of all engaged in forwarding the views of the Tsar and the Lord of Constantinople was the patriarch of Antioch, while both times the patriarch of Alexandria died during the negotiations. Another important business occupied the attention of the Œcumenical patriarchs at the time they received this letter from the Tsar, and the Russian Church also took some slight share in the same matter. A certain bishop of Thebais who appertained to the throne of Alexandria, happening to be in Great Britain in quest of alms, suggested to the Anglican bishops the idea of uniting themselves to the Œcumenical Church, and was the bearer of a letter from them to the patriarchs.

The guardians of Eastern Orthodoxy, having consulted together in council, made answer at length to the enquiries of the British, laying before them those unalterable foundations of the faith of their ancestors, on which alone the Eastern Church could receive[5] them into her bosom, for she had already in the past century[6] had an example of a false union with the Calvinists, who had deceived Cyrill Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, and endeavoured to propagate their heresy in the East under his name. The successor of Lucar, another Cyrill, known as Cyrill of Berœa, was obliged[7] to deliver over the doctrines ascribed to his predecessor to an anathema. But the learned Dositheus, patriarch of Jerusalem, convoked a council at Bethlehem[8], and set forth at large in eighteen articles the whole Orthodox Confession of the Catholic Church, with a rejection of the German[9] doctrine, grounding himself upon the already existing "Orthodox Confession" of Peter Mogila[10], which had been acknowledged by the whole Church.

In the mean time the British bishops, through James Protosyncellus of Alexandria, entered into communication on the

same subject with the Most Holy Synod, and transmitted to it their rejoinder to the answers of the patriarchs, with the request that they might be forwarded to Constantinople. But the Russian prelates, seeing with what heresy the Anglican document was filled, rejecting the traditions of their fathers, for the invocation of the saints, and the reverencing of Icons, proceeded in the same guarded manner as the Greek bishops, requesting them to give their advice in council, without which they would undertake nothing. Upon this, three of the Œcumenical patriarchs, Jeremiah of Constantinople, Athanasius of Antioch, and Sophronius of Jerusalem, together with the bishops that were in Constantinople, immediately sent to the Most Holy Synod the synodical Confession of the Patriarch Dositheus, as the best refutation to oppose against the Anglican[11] and Calvinistic doctrines, and entreated them by a circular letter, to remain steadfast in the pious doctrines of Orthodoxy; as they had long since been thoroughly sifted and decided by the Œcumenical Councils, and the holy Fathers, and had been uninterruptedly held and preserved by the service of the Catholic Church, and it was impossible either to add any thing to them or to take any thing away.

At the same time the patriarchs wrote letters to the Most Holy Synod, concerning its recognition by the whole Œcumenical Church, after the example of the throne of Constantinople, upon which in ancient times the metropolitan chair of all the Russias had depended. The letter from Constantinople was as follows:—

Jeremiah, by the mercy of God Patriarch of the city of Constantinople.

Our Humility, by the grace and power of the all-holy and life-giving Spirit, the sole Author of all governance, legitimatizes, confirms and proclaims the Synod, which has been instituted in the great and holy kingdom of Russia, by the most pious and pacific Autocrat, the Holy Tsar, Sovereign of all Muscovy, of Little and White Russia, and all the Northern

CHAP. XVII.

Eastern, Western, and many other countries, the Lord, Lord Peter Alexaevich, Emperor, whom we love, and of whom we desire to have refreshment in the Holy Ghost. It is, and is to be named "our Brother in Christ, the Holy and Sacred Synod," by all pious and Orthodox Christians, both Clergy and laity, Rulers and subjects, and by all official persons and dignitaries; and it has authority to do and perform, all that is done or performed by the four Apostolical and Most Holy Patriarchal thrones. Moreover, we put it in remembrance, we exhort and enjoin on it, to hold and preserve inviolably the customs and Canons of the seven Holy and Œcumenical Councils, and all besides that the Holy Eastern Church acknowledges and observes; and so may it stand fast for ever. The Grace of God, and the Prayer and Blessing of our Humility, be with you.—In the year 1723, this 23rd day of September.

(Signed),

Jeremiah, by the mercy of God Patriarch of Constantinople, your Brother in Christ.

APPENDIX BY THE AUTHOR.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF THE PATRIARCH JEREMIAH INTO RUSSIA.

APPEND I.

In the year 7095 from the creation of the world, and 1587 from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, during the reign of Theodore Ivanovich, the pious Tsar and Great Prince of All Russia, and the Pontificate of Job as metropolitan of Moscow, there came from the East into Russia, Jeremiah, archbishop of Constantinople or New Rome, and Œcumenical patriarch, in quest of alms to relieve the necessities of his Church. He was the second patriarch who had come into our country during the mild reign of Theodore.

Two years previously to this, Joachim, patriarch of Antioch and All the East, had visited Russia, likewise in quest of alms, by way of Astrachan and Kazan; and the pious Tsar had been so gratified at seeing the magnificence of the ceremonial of the Church heightened by the presence of a prelate of his exalted rank, that he conceived the idea of raising the rank of the Metropolitans of All Russia; for although they had hitherto reckoned themselves to form part of the patriarchate of Constantinople, they had long since surpassed every one of the Œcumenical patriarchs in power and in the extent of their jurisdiction[1]. At that time the sage Dionysius Grammaticus was still metropolitan; and his meeting with the prelate of Antioch may with every probability be said to have first suggested to the Tsar the idea of instituting a new patriarchate. For when the patriarch in the church of the Assumption of the Most Immaculate Mother of God, after having saluted the holy Icons, went to salute Dionysius, the metropolitan moved from his place not more than about six feet, and gave him his benediction first; after which, the patriarch blessed the metropolitan, and slightly remarked at the time that it would have been more proper that he should first have received the benediction from

APPEND. I. him; and then made no more observations on that point. — The Autocrat, however, did not thus drop the subject, but after having considered it over with his pious consort Irene, he took counsel with his boyars, and addressed them thus:

"Originally, in the time of our forefathers, the Sovereigns, Great Princes, and religious Tsars of Kieff, Vladimir, and Moscow, our intercessors with God the metropolitans of Kieff, Vladimir, Moscow, and All Russia, were appointed by the Œcumenical patriarchs of Constantinople: afterwards, by the Grace of Almighty God, and of the Most Immaculate Mother of God, our Protectress, and by the prayers of the great Wonder-workers of All Russia, and with the knowledge and advice of the Œcumenical patriarchs, there began to be appointed metropolitans in the kingdom of Moscow itself, by the direction and election of our forefathers and the whole Sacred Synod of the archbishops and bishops of the Russian kingdom; which has lasted even to our own reign. But now, through His great and unspeakable mercy, God has pleased that we should see the great Patriarch of Antioch come unto us; for which let us give thanks unto the Lord; and in the mean time let us seek from Him yet another grace, that He will manifest to us His loving-kindness, and give us in our dominions of Moscow a patriarch of the Russian kingdom: and let us confer, for the purpose of effecting this, with the Most Holy Joachim, and so arrange with him, as to obtain the blessing of all the patriarchs for the Patriarchate of Moscow."

By the desire of the Tsar, his brother-in-law, the privy counsellor and master of the horse Boris Theodorovich Godounoff, made a communication respecting the royal speech to the patriarch of Antioch, "that he should consult on it with the Œcumenical patriarch, and he with the other two of Alexandria and Jerusalem, and with all the Sacred Council of the Greek empire, and communicate also with the Holy Mountain and with Mount Sinai; that it might please God so great a work might be happily brought to pass in the kingdom of Russia, to the honour of the Christian faith; and

that they should take counsel together, and make known in what way it might most properly be done." The Patriarch Joachim having heard this speech, said:

"It is well known to us patriarchs, as well as to all those Christians who are in Greece and elsewhere, that your sovereign is a lover of religion and of Christ; that he is gracious to his own Christian people, and that he looks with eyes of compassion on those afflictions and persecutions, which we suffer from the ungodly Hagarenes. And we pray our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and His most pure Mother, and all the Saints, who have pleased God from the beginning, that the Lord would bestow upon your sovereign all the wish of his heart, and give him health for many years to come, and victory over his enemies, and dispose his reign in peace. And it would indeed well become so great a heritage as this is in his kingdom of Russia, if it should ever please God to set up over it a patriarch; only, without first conferring with the patriarch of Constantinople and the other two, and with all the Sacred Council, it is impossible to do this; for it is indeed a great work, and one which requires the whole Council. But for us, since we have now heard what discourse has been held by your pious Tsar, we will begin to take counsel together respecting the matter; and will send to the Holy Mountain and to Sinai, and will heartily pray to God for grace, that by His Almighty power, He may bring it to pass."

The Tsar, after having made ample presents to the patriarch, dismissed him with honour; and, the next year, there came to Moscow a Greek named Nicholas, with information that the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch had communicated to him verbally respecting the wish of the Tsar, to have a patriarch for Russia; that they had consulted together, and had sent to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, and had desired them to come to Constantinople, in order to hold a council on the matter; and that they proposed to send the patriarch of Jerusalem from the council, with directions how to ordain a patriarch.

APPEND. I. The coming of the Most Holy Œcumenical Patriarch Jeremiah was on this wise. In June 1588, the voivodes of Smolensk, the Prince Michael Katireff Rostofsky and the Boyar Prince Theodore Shestounoff, wrote to inform the sovereign that the patriarch of Constantinople had arrived there; and that he was accompanied by Hierotheus, metropolitan of Monembasia, and Arsenius, archbishop of Elasson, together with many monks and merchants, and servants; whom they were detaining, till they should receive the orders of the Tsar, in Smolensk; and in the mean time they forwarded the following letter from the patriarch.

"Jeremiah, by the grace of God, archbishop of Constantinople, which is New Rome, and patriarch of the whole universe, to the religious, the chosen of God, the pacific and glorious Autocrat, the Tsar of all the land of Russia, of Moscow, Kazan, Astrachan, Novogorod, &c.! We pray God that thy reign may last many years in peace from all enemies, visible and invisible, to be a praise and blessing to all the earth, and to all good Christians. We had heard of thy kingdom, even during the life of thy father of blessed memory, and we wished and would have been glad then to come to thy country, that we might enjoy the grace of being in a Christian land. We had heard also of the piety of the great Tsar, thy father; what devotion he shewed to all the Churches of God, and how that he ordered the affairs of his kingdom well, and in the love of God, and worthily of the kingdom of Heaven: but the times were then so calamitous as to prevent my going; there came upon us many vexations, necessities, and persecutions. I was thrown into prison by the unbelievers; and all this is already well known in thy dominions. But now, by the mercy of God, we have escaped from this persecution, and having obtained leave, we have come from Constantinople, and are arrived at a province of thy kingdom which is Smolensk, and we lose no time in writing to thee this letter, to ask if thou wilt be pleased to permit us to enter into thy kingdom; and we here await thy answer whether we are to come or not. For ourselves we have

made all preparation that we could in order to promote the interests of our great Church. We write to thee this letter in God's name, and await thy royal commands: and may Almighty God preserve thy throne for many years, and give it His blessing and defence. Amen." APPEND. I.

As soon as the Tsar Theodore had received this intelligence from his voivodes, with the prelate's letter, he immediately despatched to Smolensk to meet the patriarch a commissioner of honour named Simeon Poushechnikoff, with an order to the voivodes to allow the Most Holy Jeremiah and his suite to proceed with all honour to Moscow, to supply him with suitable provisions and carriages for the journey, and to furnish him with an escort of Esquires from Smolensk. And at the same time he ordered Silvester, bishop of Smolensk, to receive the patriarch in his cathedral church of The Most Holy Virgin the Conductress with all possible state, as was usual at the reception of the Metropolitans of All Russia; and that it should be public, and in the presence of all the people. He also ordered that an honorary supply of provisions should be sent to the patriarch, the metropolitan, and the archbishop, as from himself. But while Theodore thus shewed his piety, in his joyful reception of the great prelate, he did not the less, as a prudent ruler, think it right to take certain necessary measures of political precaution. In the answer which he wrote to the voivodes, he expressed displeasure at their negligence, for "did they," asked he, "only know of the coming of the patriarch, when he had actually arrived where they were? had he travelled from the frontiers of Lithuania seventy versts, as if he had been in a foreign territory, without meeting any where with any watch or guard; a thing which had never before occurred? and then had they not asked him how he had passed through Lithuania? and whether it was by the decision of all the patriarchs that he had left Constantinople? also of the particulars of the meeting itself they had sent no information; that now however to ask the patriarch such questions would no longer be becoming, but only in future they should be more cautious; and that they should

APPEND. I.

send to the government office an inventory of all the wares and goods which were with him or the people of his train."

The Tsar also gave his commissioner a memorandum of the manner in which he was to receive the patriarch, and attend on him during the journey with all possible care and respect; also that he was to endeavour to learn privately on the road, from his monks and attendants, what was the purpose of the Most Holy Jeremiah's visit to him? and whether he had any communication for him from the other patriarchs? who had taken his place at Constantinople? and where was Theoleptus who had been patriarch before him? and which of the two would be patriarch upon his return? He ordered him also to make enquiries, whether any army of the Turkish Sultan had been sent in any direction? whether he was at war with the Shah of Persia? or at peace with the kings of France and Spain, and with the Emperor? also, how the patriarch had passed through Lithuania? whether he had seen the king? and who was king there then? and whether he had been at the Sessions of the Nobles? whether he brought any news from Lithuania, or had any natives of that country in his suite? He was to send and inform the Tsar exactly of all these particulars, after leaving Mojaisk; and was to send again from the last place at which he would have to halt near Moscow, and there he was to remain till he received permission to enter the city.

When he had been ten days on the road (the thirteenth of June) another commissioner of state, Gregory Naschokin, met the patriarch close to the capital at the ferry of the Milofskay road over the river Moskva, and in the name of the sovereign enquired after his health, as well as after that of the metropolitan and the archbishop; and so conducted them, by the best places, past the Dvorianoy Dvor, through the Quarter of the Streltsi, close to the city to the Tverskay Gates; then from the Tverskay street, by the Jitnoy Dvor, past the Artillery Yard, to the town lodge of the see of Riazan. Orders had been given that they should be accommodated

there with all possible honour; but till they should be received by the Tsar, no Greek nor other foreigner was to be admitted to see them, except those who were sent by the boyars and the spiritual authorities to compliment them with presents of provisions; and in the mean time the Wallachians and Lithuanians were to be conducted to the Court or Hostel specially appropriated for the reception of Lithuanians. The commissioners received directions to communicate only with the Council of the Boyars, and to do nothing without the order of Andrew Schelkaloff the secretary of embassy.

After a week had passed, on the twenty-first of June, being Sunday, the Tsar desired the patriarch of Constantinople's presence at his court; and the patriarch accordingly made his solemn entry into the Kremlin seated on an ass, and alighted on the elevated pavement before the church of the Annunciation, while the metropolitan and the archbishop, under the conduct of the Tsar's commissioners, alighted from their horses before they arrived, without riding in. The Sons of the Boyars or Esquires and the Officers of the Courts of Justice, dressed in robes covered with gold, lined the steps of the lofty flight of stairs, where the patriarch was to be first met by Tatischeff, a boyar of the council, and Tiounoff, secretary of the court, and also the passage room at the middle staircase, where the patriarch was met the second time by the Lord of the Presence, the Prince Lobanoff-Rostofsky, and the Secretary of the Court of Requests, Sapoun Ivanoff.

In the Beautiful Corner of the Golden Hall of the Sign Manual, on a throne of great richness, was seated the religious sovereign himself, with his crown on his head, vested in his royal robes, and holding a richly-carved sceptre in his hands, a golden orb figuring the universe lying by his side. About him stood all his boyars, the lords of the presence and the courtiers, in robes covered with gold. The Treasurer Trachanioutoff announced with a loud voice the arrival of the patriarch in these words: "The Most Holy Jeremiah, patriarch of Constantinople, and Hierotheus the metropolitan of Monembasia, make their humble petition to thee, O Tsar."

APPEND. I. Then the Tsar rose from his place, and advanced about half a fathom to meet the patriarch. The prelate first of all made his reverence to the holy Icon of our Heavenly Lady, which shone with a blaze of precious stones immediately over the throne, from under a rich canopy; he then lifted his hands on high, and offered up a fervent prayer for the health and long life of the Tsar, that his name might be glorious both in the East and West, and that it would please God to give him the blessing of heirs to reign after him; and having thus prayed, he blessed him by signing over his bended heaven-crowned head the sign of the holy Cross.

In his turn, the Tsar prayed that he might have the fulfilment of all the prelate's good wishes, and thanked him, and said, "In a happy hour has thy Holiness visited our kingdom during my reign; has the Lord been gracious to thee by the way?" The patriarch replied—"By the mercy of God, and thy royal goodness, I have come into thy kingdom in good health, and have forgotten all my toils at the sight of thy royal countenance."

On this he offered to the monarch the presents he had brought for him as a blessing: a gold Panagia with morsels of the life-giving Cross, of the Robe of the Lord, and of that of the Mother of God, encased within it, as well as portions of the instruments of our Lord's passion, the Spear, the Reed, the Sponge, and the Crown of Thorns. Also, certain holy relics in a silver case, a hand of the Apostle-like Emperor Constantine, which Sultan Solyman had brought away out of Servia and had given to a former patriarch Jeremiah for the cathedral of the Mother of God, and another hand, of St. James one of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. Another golden Panagia and some relics of the holy Martyrs Solomonia and Marina of Antioch were destined as a blessing for the acceptance of the pious Tsaritsa Irene.

The Tsar ordered the Treasurer Trachanioutoff to receive these holy presents, and having seated himself again on his raised throne, desired the patriarch to sit down close by him on a bench placed on his right hand, and the metropolitan

and archbishop at a little interval farther off. Then the treasurer brought forth the presents of the monarch:—for the patriarch, a double-handled silver cup, and four pieces of figured velvet, some damask silk, four-score sables, and three hundred roubles in money; while for the metropolitan there were carried to his lodgings, one silver cup, three pieces of velvet, besides damask and mohair, two-score sables, and fifty roubles in money. The archbishop of Elasson did not partake of the royal bounty, as he had been already at Moscow once before, and had received rich presents from the Tsar John, since which time he had constantly resided in Lithuania, and had never returned to his own ecclesiastical diocese. After this, Andrew Schelkaloff, secretary of embassy, announced in the Tsar's name, that in accordance with the patriarch's own wish, orders to confer with him had been given to Boris Theodorovich Godounoff, privy counsellor, master of the horse, brother-in-law to the Tsar, and governor of Kazan and Astrachan; and that the Tsar of his bounty would send him provisions to his lodgings from his own table. The Most Holy Jeremiah, having once more given his blessing to the monarch, went out from the presence with the commissioners and all his suite into the Small Audience Chamber, whither the Boyar Godounoff, accompanied by two secretaries, soon followed him. Schelkaloff then presented him to the patriarch, and Godounoff, after he had asked his blessing, enquired after the prelate's health, and received this answer: "By the mercy of God we have made the journey in good health; but what has done me most good is, that I have seen the light of the Tsar's countenance."

They both seated themselves, as did also the secretaries, by permission of the patriarch; but the bishops and the monks were desired by the boyar to withdraw to an anteroom: he then told the patriarch that by the will of the monarch, and in accordance with his own desire expressed through the commissioners, he had been sent to confer with him on certain matters, and begged him to inform him what was the cause of his coming, and also who was patriarch in

APPEND. I.

Constantinople during his absence? further, of the circumstances of his passage through Lithuania? and what his communications had been with the Pans of the Council and the chancellor? The patriarch replied:

"I was patriarch in Constantinople, when for my sins, and the sins of all the Greek Christians, the Turkish Sultan rose up against the Church of God. The cause of all was a Greek, who had been originally with me, but ran away, turned Mahometan, and became Kapoudgi to the Sultan. He then began to speak to him many slanderous words against me, and to descant on our great riches and hoards, and describe the splendour of the ornaments and furniture of the church, where my predecessors had resided; saying, that its sacred vessels were beyond all number or price. Besides this, Theoleptus began to buy over the Pashas to make him patriarch, and offered to give the Sultan two thousand pieces of gold more than the usual present. As for me in my old age, I had already desired to abdicate my throne, and to choose a successor in my place with the consent of the other patriarchs, the metropolitans, and the whole sacred synod, according to the custom in former time. But the Turkish Sultan broke through the firmans which his predecessors had granted to the patriarchs at the taking of Constantinople, and by which they had promised not to interfere in any thing with the spiritual orders, and commanded, without any reference to our synod, that Theoleptus should be patriarch. But when I upon this remonstrated freely and in many words with the Pashas, that the faith of the Sultan's predecessors should not be broken, Sultan Mourat made a persecution against the Church of God, and inflicted disgrace upon me, and banished me to the White sea, to the island of Rhodes, where I remained in disgrace four years. In the mean time Theoleptus was patriarch of Constantinople. But in his fifth year, the Sultan deposed him, seized upon and confiscated the Church of God, and all the buildings belonging to it, and converted it into a mosque; and then sent for me to be again patriarch. I arrived in Constantinople,—I there see the Church

of God destroyed, and converting into a mosque, its property all plundered, and the cells of the Religious in ruins. The Sultan then sent for me, and ordered me to build a patriarchal church and cells in some other part of Constantinople. But I had no means to do this: all that had been in our treasury had been plundered: and so with the consent of the synod, I petitioned the Sultan to permit me to go to collect alms for the building of a church to Christian countries; and he gave me permission. Now therefore, since I had heard before of the piety of your Christian monarch, I have come hither, to see his royal countenance, and to be witness of his Orthodox faith, and to ask for his alms, that he would shew mercy upon us, and assist us in our afflictions and distresses; and there is now no other patriarch in Constantinople.

"I came into Lithuania; and when I had arrived at Lvoff, I sent to the chancellor, John Zamoisky, to the city of Zamosk, to procure a pass; and the chancellor desired me to come to him, where I found one of the first noblemen of the Prince Maximilian of Austria; and the chancellor informed me, at our interview, that the high ambassadors of the sovereigns had been at the election; and that the Polish nobles had chosen Sigismund, son of the king of Sweden, to be their king, and had crowned him; but that then it was not clear who was their king. Jegimont in Cracow, and the Council of the Pans had chosen for themselves another king, Maximilian of Austria, and he was in Krasnoy-Staff; and, that for their sins, they could come to no agreement respecting their king."

The patriarch further said, that he had some secret communications to make; and when Godounoff had heard them, which took no long time, he promised to report them to the Tsar, and then dismissed the patriarch with honour, to the town lodge of the see of Riazan; shortly afterwards the pious monarch, after having consulted with his consort, thus addressed his boyars:

"Some time ago, there came hither to us from Antioch the Most Holy Patriarch Joachim, and we then took counsel with

APPEND. I. you, O Boyars, to the end that our Lord God might grant us His mercy, and permit the establishment of a patriarch in this our kingdom of Moscow. The Most Holy Joachim engaged to consult on this with the other patriarchs. But now, by the great, and unspeakable mercy of God, there has come to us the Most Holy Jeremiah himself, the patriarch of Constantinople and the Universe, the like of which has never hitherto occurred in the time of any of our ancestors, that a patriarch should come hither from so great and principal a place in the Christian world, as the orthodox city of Constantinople; and we, after praying for the mercy of God, have determined that the patriarch of Constantinople should reside in our capital city of Vladimir." The monarch then ordered his brother-in-law to confer with the patriarch on the possibility of his remaining and taking up his residence in the kingdom of Russia, in the former capital of Vladimir.

But in the mean time, while the Tsar was deliberating, many days and weeks passed, and the Most Holy Jeremiah began to petition to be allowed to take his leave for Constantinople, when the brother-in-law of the monarch visited him; and having received his patriarchal blessing, enquired respecting his health in the names of the Tsar, and Tsaritsa, and then spoke to him thus, in private.

"Our religious and Christian monarch has ordered me to impart to you, Most Holy Patriarch, his royal views. He in time past signified his wish by the patriarch of Antioch to you, and to the other patriarchs, that you would all confer together for the institution of a patriarchate in the kingdom of Russia, to the honour and promotion of the Christian Faith. And now thou hast informed him, that for the sins of the Christians, the Turkish Sultan has made an attack upon the Church of God, has persecuted thee, and made the patriarchate itself his prey. Our religious sovereign, therefore, begs your holiness to remain in the kingdom of Russia, and to be patriarch on the throne of Vladimir and all Great Russia; that by so doing, you may vindicate your claim

to the title of Œcumenical patriarch, and he promises ample endowments to you and yours."

The patriarch replied:—"To the Tsar and Great Prince, and to his religious Tsaritsa, we return many thanks for their magnificent offers to me. Our brother of Antioch informed our Humility of the pious wish of the monarch, and we agreed in council, that it would well become the honour of the kingdom of Russia, that a patriarch should be instituted for it; and I myself do not recede from this decision: only it will not be possible for me to reside in Vladimir, since the patriarch should always be near the throne, and that would be a strange kind of patriarch, who should live at a distance from his sovereign. Besides this, my bishops and presbyters and all the brethren of the Church of Constantinople write to me with tears, that I should return to them; and indeed it is time for me to return to that Church, which I have taken charge of as of a mother, that I may tend her in her old age and necessity, and support many of her children, who leave her stripped of all consolation, forgetting that they have received all the good they have from her."

The great monarch, on receiving the answer of the patriarch, was disappointed; and repeatedly sent his brother-in-law to confer with him on the same matter; but the Most Holy Jeremiah would not consent. On this the Tsar convoked his council, and said thus; "We had proposed, that the Œcumenical Patriarch Jeremiah should abide with us, and fill the throne of Vladimir, and all Great Russia; and that our father and beadsman, the Metropolitan Job, should remain as before in this our royal city of Moscow. But the Most Holy Jeremiah will not assent to this, unless we allow him to reside in Moscow, at the church of the Immaculate Mother of God. We however cannot bring ourselves to remove from the church of the Most Pure Virgin and from the tombs of the Wonder-workers such a man as our Father Job, the successor and fellow of those great saints, Peter, Alexis, and Jonah, a man of such an irreproachable life, so reverend and holy, and to place a Greek patriarch in his room, who does not know

APPEND. I.

either our laws or customs; and with whom I could not converse on any spiritual matters without an interpreter. But now let us again take counsel that the Œcumenical Patriarch Jeremiah may bless, and appoint to be patriarch of Vladimir, a member of the Russian synod our father the Metropolitan Job, according to the same order by which he appoints the patriarchs of Alexandria, and Jerusalem; and that we may obtain from him the order of appointment, that for the future our patriarchs may be appointed in the kingdom of Russia by their own synod; and that for this purpose there should be instituted more metropolitans, and the number of archbishops and bishops should be increased in those cities where they are most required."

On the thirteenth of January Boris Godounoff, accompanied by the Secretary Andrew Schelkaloff, drove again to the lodgings of the Œcumenical patriarch, and delivered to him this message from the Tsar, "that if the Most Holy Jeremiah does not choose to be himself patriarch of Vladimir and All Russia, he will be pleased at all events to appoint in his stead such member of the Russian synod as the Lord God, the Most Immaculate Mother of God, and the great Wonder-workers of Moscow shall elect: for our religious ancestors the Tsars our predecessors received baptism in the Christian faith, and the most reverend metropolitans of Kieff their appointment, from the patriarchs of the Church of Constantinople; and this faith they have steadfastly maintained. And do thou, O Most Holy Jeremiah, who art also, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, their successor in the apostolical throne, perfect in our time the work of thy predecessors." The patriarch, after having conferred at length with the boyar, replied: "Of a truth the Holy Spirit abideth in your religious Tsar, his thought has been inspired from God; and so also has this proper way of bringing it about. Since old Rome has fallen through the Apollinarian heresy[2], and Constantinople, which is New Rome, is in the possession of the unbelieving Turks the children of Hagar, the great kingdom of Russia has surpassed all others put together in

piety, and your Orthodox sovereign is named throughout all the world as the sole pattern of a Christian king. Therefore, by the providence of God, and by the prayers of the Most Immaculate Virgin and the intercession of the great Wonder-workers Peter, Alexis, and Jonah, and by the advice of the Tsar, let this great work be accomplished." He then gave his blessing for the election to proceed according to the wish of the monarch; and consented that, for the future, the patriarchs should be appointed in the kingdom of Russia by their own metropolitans, according to the order of the Church; and for himself he requested that he might be allowed to take his leave and return to Constantinople. APPEND. I.

On the nineteenth day of January, 1589, there met in the royal city of Moscow a great spiritual synod of the whole kingdom of Russia: the Most Reverend Job metropolitan of All Russia, Alexander archbishop of Great Novogorod and Pskoff, Jeremiah archbishop of Kazan and Sviajsk, Barlaam of Rostoff and Yaroslavla, Job bishop of Souzdal and Torouss, Metrophanes bishop of Riazan and Mourom, Silvester bishop of Smolensk and Briansk, Zachariah bishop of Tver and Kashinsk, Joseph bishop of Kolomna and Cashirsk, Gelasius bishop of Sarai and Podonsk, and many archimandrites, hegumens, and monks, were present at the council. The great Monarch, having first informed them of his consultations with both patriarchs, and of the consent of the Most Holy Jeremiah to appoint a patriarch for the kingdom of Moscow, ordered them to consult together, in order that God might grant them to see so great and glorious a work perfected in the kingdom of Russia: and all the sacred synod testified a ready zeal to further his royal wishes. The Tsar then ordered the secretary of embassy, Andrew Schelkaloff, an experienced and learned man, and already advanced in years, to question the Most Holy Jeremiah as to the manner of appointing a patriarch; and the patriarch told him that it was according to the same order as that for the appointment of metropolitans; and gave him briefly drawn out in writing the order for the election and nomi-

APPEND. I. nation, according to the pattern of the great Church at Constantinople; the contents of which were as follows:

"Whomsoever the Tsar desires to be patriarch he shall send two persons to his cell to inform him that the Tsar and the patriarch wish to nominate him; and they should do this privately. And when they finish chanting the Evening Service in the synod, after the Moleben [3], the patriarch elect shall take a wax-light in his hand, and a roll of paper in which are written his thanks to the Tsar, the patriarch, and all the synod. One of the officers from about the Tsar's person shall then come into the church and stand with a wax-light in his hand over against him, and shall say: 'The Holy Tsar, and the Most Holy Patriarch Jeremiah and all the Sacred Synod have commanded me to speak to thee: they call on you to ascend the throne of Vladimir and Moscow, and All Russia.' Then he who is nominated gives this answer to the officer of the Tsar: 'Since the sovereign, and the Œcumenical Lord Jeremiah, together with the whole Sacred Synod, have chosen me, sinner though I am, to such an exalted dignity, I return them my thanks for it, and will take upon myself the office.' After this the patriarch elect shall invite the whole Sacred Synod and the people to pray for him, that he may be enabled to keep this flock of the Lord."

But the religious Tsar Theodore ordered further that the ordinance of his father of blessed memory, for the appointment of the Metropolitan Dionysius Grammaticus, should be written out, and having compared it with the order of the patriarch, he composed out of them an order according to his own mind, for the election and nomination of the patriarchs; for which however he previously sent to obtain the consent of the Most Holy Jeremiah in the name of the whole synod, by Barlaam archbishop of Rostoff, and Silvester bishop of Smolensk, accompanied by many archimandrites and hegumens.

On the day appointed, being Thursday the 23rd of January, the whole sacred synod of archbishops, bishops, archiman-

drites, and hegumens, assembled in the apostolical church of the Most Immaculate Virgin, and chanted Molebens[4] to the great Wonder-workers. Two of the bishops, Job of Souzdal, and Metrophanes of Riazan, together with many canonarchs and monks, were sent again to the Most Holy Jeremiah to invite him to come to the national synod of Russia; and the patriarch, on their entreaty, arose and proceeded, amidst the ringing of bells, by the Kitai-Gorod and the Kremlin to the church, where he was met and received at three several times; first, before he had yet reached the church, by Gelasius bishop of the Steeps in his mandya, with twelve archimandrites and hegumens in their most splendid robes of ceremony; secondly, at the steps, by the three bishops of Smolensk, Tver, and Kolomna, accompanied by five more superiors of the greatest monasteries; and lastly, by the three archbishops of Novogorod, Kazan, and Rostoff, with the archimandrite of the Trinity Lavra, and the fathers of the cathedral, at the doors. The Most Holy Jeremiah entered into the church, and signed himself with the sign of the Cross before the holy Icons, and having first given his benediction to the Great Council of the bishops, he conferred in a low voice with them respecting the election: then he took his stand in his proper place as patriarch, while the bishops all went up to the head of the cathedral, to choose a spiritual head for the Church, to the chapel of the Praise of the Mother of God, which is above the vestry in the cupola.

There after having prayed, they took their seats and conferred together, and then wrote down the election in clear words, and confirmed it by the signatures of their hands: "By permission of our Lord God Almighty, the eternal Father, his co-eternal and only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and the all-holy life-giving Spirit, and by the prayers of the Most Immaculate Mother of God, and ever-Virgin Mary, and of the holy and great Wonder-workers, the Most Reverend Metropolitans of Kieff and All Russia, Peter, Alexis, and Jonah, and by the will of our heaven-crowned Tsar,

APPEND. I.

Lord, and Great Prince, Theodore Ivanovich, Autocrat of All Russia, and by the blessing of Jeremiah the Œcumenical patriarch, of Hierotheus Greek metropolitan of Monembasia, Tichon archbishop of Kazan and Sviajsk, &c. &c., in the venerable church of the Most Immaculate Mother of God, in the chapel of her Praise, in the divinely-guarded city of Moscow, near the grace-communicating tombs of the great Wonder-workers, we have met in session, and have elected to the most holy and great Russian metropolitan see, of the divinely-guarded city of Moscow, to the apostolic and cathedral church of the Most Immaculate Mother of God, of her honourable and glorious Rest, and of the great Saints and Wonder-workers, Peter, Alexis, and Jonah, to be patriarch, Job metropolitan of All Russia, Alexander archbishop of Great Novogorod and Pskoff, and Barlaam archbishop of Rostoff and Yaroslavla."

After this they synodically elected three for the metropolitan see of Great Novogorod, the Archbishop Alexander, with two archimandrites, Cyprian of the Trinity Lavra, and Jonah of the monastery of the Nativity in Vladimir: likewise three for the metropolitan see of Rostoff; the Archbishop Barlaam, and the Archimandrites Sergius of the Novospassky and Theodosius of the Choudoff monasteries.

After they had finished these elections, the prelates came down from the cupola of the cathedral to the patriarch, and proceeded with him at their head to the royal palace. The religious monarch met the Most Holy Jeremiah at the doors of the Golden Hall, received his blessing, and enquired after his health: he then sat down on his royal throne, and desired the patriarch to be seated near himself, and all the rest of the synod in order at a slight interval. The secretary of embassy read out the names of those who had been elected to be patriarch; and the Tsar went no further than the name of Job, but forthwith sent three bishops and his own boyar to call him to his presence to the palace. He himself rejoiced in spirit, and rose up, and gave glory to God, for having sent to him the Œcumenical patriarch, to fulfil the

wish of his heart; and then afterwards he turned to the patriarch, and thanked him for having come to visit the kingdom of Moscow. The patriarch with emotion replied: "May God, whose providence is over all, fulfil always the pious wishes of the Tsar, and give His blessing upon every thing which is agreeable to his gentle heart."

The monarch again with all the synod went forth to the doors of the hall to meet the Metropolitan Job. He was desired not to lay aside his crosier to receive the salutation of the patriarch, as he was to be from henceforward his equal, unless the Most Holy Jeremiah himself should lay aside his own. The monarch made a speech to him announcing his election, and the Œcumenical patriarch gave him his blessing. After this the secretary of embassy proclaimed the names of those also who had been elected to be metropolitans of Novogorod and Rostoff; and the Tsar stopped at the first names of those who were before archbishops of the same sees.

The monarch conducted the patriarchs to the outer hall; they both entered the cathedral, but there the order which Jeremiah had proposed was not followed; Job did not read any thing to return thanks to him and to the synod for his election, but the patriarchs merely saluted each other with a kiss in the name of Christ, and so left the cathedral by different doors, each attended by a number of bishops.

The following is a description of the invitation and meeting which awaited the Most Holy Jeremiah on the following Sunday, the twenty-sixth of January, which had been fixed for the institution of the patriarch of Moscow. Three seats, the one covered with golden tissue for the Tsar, the other two with black velvet for the patriarchs, were placed on a raised ambon or dais in the nave of the church; and from thence down the twelve steps of the dais, and all the way up the nave to the sanctuary, three variegated breadths of carpet were laid for the passage of the Tsar and the two patriarchs: benches were placed on either side for the bishops, while in front of the dais was figured on the pavement of the church

APPEND. I.

an eagle with one head, the wings extended, and standing upright on his feet, while under his feet was a city with parapeted walls and towers. The eagle seemed to stand with his claws firmly fixed on the towers; and round about the eagle were twelve monks, to prevent any one but him who was nominated from stepping upon it. But Job the patriarch elect, with a firm voice, standing upon the eagle, before the face of the whole synod sitting on either side, and before the faces of the Tsar and the patriarch sitting aloft in front on the raised dais in their full robes, as before God and His elect Angels, made his profession of the true and uncorrupted faith of Christ, the symbol of the faith, the canons of the seven Œcumenical councils, and the canons of the holy Fathers; and so he went up to the dais and received the benediction of the patriarch and the salutation of the bishops; and after having paid his reverence to the Tsar, he retired back to the upper chapel of the Praise of the Mother of God, till the time should come for his consecration.

When the time approached, and the Œcumenical patriarch, accompanied by the whole synod, had already after the lesser introit left their seats and gone up into the sanctuary, and the choirs were finishing the hymn of the Thrice Holy, the archpriest and the archdeacon[5] of the cathedral brought out Job the patriarch elect, and led him up before the royal doors, where he was received and conducted into the sanctuary by two metropolitans. And the Œcumenical patriarch, after he had laid his hands upon him, and laid the Gospel open upon his head, invoked the Divine grace on the new patriarch, and repeated over him the whole order for the consecration of a bishop, as though he had need of a double portion of grace to fulfil the duties of his high calling. After this he took him with him according to custom to the High Place[6] while the Apostle and the Gospel were read; and they both together celebrated the divine Liturgy. The Most Holy Jeremiah made commemoration of the Œcumenical patriarchs, while he was himself commemorated by Job, now patriarch of Moscow. The lamp and the crosier of the

patriarch of Constantinople were during the whole time of the service in front of the royal doors.

After the Liturgy was finished, the newly-made patriarch was conducted by the synod to the raised dais in the nave of the church, where they enthroned him three several times on the chair which had been prepared for him, and each time they sang the Polychronion, wishing him many years. The Œcumenical patriarch placed in his hands the sacred staff of the Metropolitan Peter, the Wonder-worker, while the pious Tsar himself placed on his neck a golden Panagia, ornamented with precious stones, and a splendid silk mandya, with three stripes of Venetian silk, embroidered all over with pearls, and a white khlobouk entirely covered with pearls and diamonds, with the sign of our Saviour standing on the top of it, of the most valuable amethysts, with this inscription, "The gift of the Tsar, to the Patriarch Job;" and he placed a second carved crosier in his hands, saying,

"The Almighty and life-giving Trinity, who has entrusted to us the government of the kingdom of Russia, gives thee this great and holy throne of the great Wonder-worker Peter, and the patriarchate of Moscow and All Russia, by the imposition of hands and benediction of the Most Holy Œcumenical Patriarch Jeremiah, and of the holy fathers the archbishops and bishops of our kingdom of Russia; Now therefore, accept O father this pastoral staff, and take the seat of thy primacy, the throne of the great Wonder-worker Peter, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and His Most Immaculate Mother; and pray God, and His Most Immaculate Mother, and the great Wonder-workers Peter, Alexis, Jonah, and all the Saints, for us, and for our Orthodox Tsaritsa, and for all Orthodox Christians, that He may give us and all good Christians what may be good for our souls and bodies; and may the Lord give thee health, and a long life, even for ever and ever! Amen."

At the court which had been that of the metropolitans, but was henceforth to be the court of the patriarchs, both the prelates waited till they should be called to the royal table; and then, upon being summoned by one of the Lords of the

APPEND. I. Presence, they entered, accompanied by the whole synod, into the Golden Hall of the Sign Manual. The Greek strangers were astonished at the magnificence of the table, which was covered with gold and silver plate, tankards and cups of different shapes, filled with Malvoisie and Cyprus wines. Carved figures of different animals in precious metal loaded the table; lions and unicorns, bears and wolves, stags, hares, and other wild creatures were placed together, as if they had been in a zoological collection. There were also various kinds of birds; peacocks with their spangled wings and tails, pelicans, eagles, and wonderful ostriches, engaged the sight; nor was there either number, or weight, or price, to the vessels and plate of all kind. With such splendour did the royal board shine.

Both the patriarchs sat at the high table with the monarch; the metropolitans and other prelates and archimandrites at another table, with the boyars, and the ambassadors from Iberia, who were then at Moscow; every man according to his rank. The pages carried round to them all gracious presents of meats, with messages from the monarch, from his own table. At the third course, the Most Holy Job, patriarch of Moscow, rose from table, according to the custom of the Church, and rode in procession on an ass round the old Kremlin and the Kitai, to bless the city and the people, a Boyar of the Presence, the Prince Peter Rostofsky, holding his bridle: before him went the clerks and chanters singing anthems, his own patriarchal boyars, and four torch-bearers, with palms in their hands. He then returned to the Royal Court, and resumed his seat at the table as before. The next day he rode in the same manner round the remaining part of the city called the Kamennay, or stone town of the Tsars, and on that occasion the Boyar Boris Feodorovich Godounoff, the Master of the Horse, led his horse by the bridle.

When the royal banquet was terminated, and they had, according to custom, performed the order of lifting up the Panagia[z], the pious monarch stood up in the midst of the hall, and gave to each a drink of mead from a tankard as they sang the Polychronion. His treasurer Trachoniatoff

then brought forth fresh presents, which he was pleased to make; to both the patriarchs gifts of equal value, just such as had been bestowed at the first upon the Most Holy Jeremiah; likewise to the metropolitans and to the archbishop who accompanied him, this time in common with all the rest of the same rank, and to all the Greek and Servian fathers who had come with them. It was quite dark when the patriarchs were dismissed to their lodgings. The Œcumenical patriarch was conducted to his by a guard of Streltsi, bearing lighted torches; and the next morning, at the first dawn, the royal presents, which had been given the day before, were carried in state to the patriarch.

The next day, three bishops came from the patriarch of Moscow with a brotherly invitation to the Most Holy Jeremiah to dine at his table; and that great prelate, after first making enquiry concerning his health, arose, and followed the bishops, saying, "Let it be as my brother Job desires." A body of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, in their robes of ceremony, with wax-lights, and censers, and the chant of anthems, was waiting to meet and receive the Œcumenical Lord, on the staircase of the patriarch. At the doors of the Cross-room, the patriarch of Moscow himself appeared to welcome him: they then both prayed for a short space before the venerable Icons, and read the Ἄξιον to the honour of the Mother of God, and so kissed each other on the lips, like brethren, as is customary between the patriarchs; and seated themselves together till the banquet should be served. But before they sat down, a Boyar of the Presence came to invite in the Tsar's name both patriarchs to the palace, where the monarch met them as before, and seated himself on his throne in his royal robes, and bade them seat themselves also on each side of him. His boyars who encircled him were all dressed in robes of cloth of gold, and his treasurer exhibited before the Tsar the acknowledgments of Job, the patriarch of All Russia: an Icon of the Most Immaculate Mother of God, carved and overlaid with gold set with rubies, and a curtain[8] of satin worked with pearls, a

APPEND. I.

double-handled silver cup, some velvet and precious stones, forty sables, and ten Georgian ducats. There were also similar presents for the Tsaritsa. Then there entered a Boyar of the Presence from the Tsaritsa Irene, and standing in the midst of the hall, and making a humble obeisance, invited both the patriarchs and the whole synod into her apartments.

They all arose; the Tsar himself went first; after him, the two patriarchs, and then the bishops and archimandrites, according to their respective ranks, and the whole of the royal court: they entered the outer hall, where were assembled the ladies of the boyars of Moscow, of the Tsaritsa's household, in dresses as white as snow, ornamented with gold and purple, and embroidered with pearls and precious stones. The Golden Doors of the central apartment of the Tsaritsa were thrown open, and another boyar, in her name, invited the patriarchs with all the synod to enter. The Boyar Godounoff alone followed them; and after him the doors were again closed. The whole room, which was a rotunda, shone with the purest gold; and by the ingenious disposition of the architect, there was an audible echo in it of whatever was spoken even in a whisper. The walls were decorated with the most costly mosaic work, which pictured forth the acts of the saints, choirs of angels, martyrs, and bishops; while over the magnificent throne, there shone in a blaze of jewels a large Icon, of the Most Immaculate Virgin, with the eternal Child in her arms, surrounded by choirs of saints crowned with golden crowns, studded with pearls, rubies and sapphires. The floor was covered with curiously-wrought carpets, on which was represented to the life the sport of hawking; and other figures of birds and animals, carved of the precious metals, shone in various directions all around the apartment; in the centre of the arched roof, an exquisitely-carved lion held in his mouth a serpent twisted in the shape of a ring, from which golden lamps were suspended.

The dress of the Tsaritsa herself exceeded in splendour every thing which surrounded her. Her necklace, bracelets, and collar, were made of heavy, equal-sized pearls, and her

robe, trimmed with sables, was fastened with dark emeralds and brilliants; whilst her crown, which was above all price, shone with every variety of precious stones: it was surmounted by twelve battlements, like the wall of a town, in memory of the Twelve Apostles, and diamonds hung down from it, in large drops, on the bright forehead of the Tsaritsa. But the angelic beauty of that forehead eclipsed, for all that, the splendour of her royal ornaments. The Tsaritsa arose graciously from her throne when she saw the patriarchs, and met them in the middle of the Hall, and humbly asked their blessing. The Œcumenical prelate blessed her, making the sign of the Cross over her with prayer; and said aloud, "Hail, most pious Irene, beloved by God among queens, Tsaritsa of the East and West, and of All Russia, ornament of these Northern countries, and support of the Orthodox Faith!" Then the patriarch of Moscow, and after him all the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, each in their turn, gave their blessing to the religious Tsaritsa, wishing her every good, both of body and soul.

From her gentle lips then proceeded the speech of welcome:—"Great Lord, Most Holy Jeremiah of Constantinople, and of the Universe, first among the patriarchs, I render many thanks to Your Holiness for having undertaken the trouble of such a journey as this to our dominions, that you might afford us the consolation of seeing your sacred person, the most revered of all throughout Orthodox Christendom, and from which we have ourselves now received grace; and for this we give glory to Almighty God, and to His Most Holy Mother, and to all the Saints, by whose prayers He has vouchsafed to give us such an unspeakable satisfaction. Of a truth nothing could have been more worthy of praise and honour than your coming hither, which has conferred such great splendour on the Church of Russia; for, from henceforth, through the elevation of her metropolitans to the dignity of patriarchs, the glory of the whole kingdom has been magnified throughout the world. Our forefathers, the religious Monarchs, Great Princes, and

APPEND. I. Tsars, have, from ancient times, earnestly desired this; but it was not vouchsafed them to witness the fulfilment of their pious wishes. But now Almighty God hath conducted hither Your Holiness in the time of our reign, through the numerous toils of a long journey, for the accomplishment of what they so much desired."

After this she retired a few steps back, and stood nearly in her own royal place, having the pious Tsar on her right hand, and on her left her brother, the boyar, with his head uncovered, while a little behind her stood in order the wives of the Princes, each according to her rank, dressed in white garments, with their hands placed cross-wise over their breasts, and their faces inclined to the ground: at a sign from the Tsar, they all, one after the other, reverently advanced to receive the benediction of the Most Holy Patriarchs; while the orthodox Tsaritsa, having received from the hands of the first of her ladies, a precious golden chalice, studded with six thousand seed pearls and other precious stones, presented it with her own hand to the patriarch; and then sat down herself, and desired him also to be seated.

But the Boyar Godounoff, coming forward into the midst, exhibited the other gifts of the Tsaritsa to both the patriarchs; to each a silver cup, one piece of black velvet, two pieces of damask silk, two pieces of watered Mohair silk, and two of satin, forty sables, and one hundred roubles in money: after which he thus addressed the Œcumenical patriarch:

"Great Lord, Most Holy Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople and the Universe; these gracious presents of the Tsaritsa are for you, that you may charitably pray to God for the Great Lady the Tsaritsa, and Grand Princess Irene; and for the long life of our Great Lord the Tsar, and that they may have issue." Upon which the patriarch rose and thus spoke:

"May the Almighty Lord, who divided the Red sea, and led through it on dry land the children of Israel, both small and great, and brought water to quench their thirst out of the hard rock, on the way to the promised land; who sent

His Archangel to announce the mystery of the Incarnation to the Most Immaculate Virgin, the Highly-favoured, the Pot of the heavenly manna, the Holy Hill, the Bush Unconsumed, in which Christ abode, that He might redeem from death the whole race of Adam; may He, the same, now hear our prayers, and bestow upon thee the blessed fruit of the womb, with the overflowings of His grace!"

The Boyar Godounoff proceeded in the same way to exhibit the presents intended for the rest; proclaiming their titles, and desiring their prayers: "To the Most Holy Job, Archbishop of the Royal city of Moscow, and Patriarch of all the Northern Countries,—to the Most Reverend Hierotheus, Metropolitan of the illustrious city of Monembasia in the Peloponnesus, and to the Humble Archbishop of Elasson, of the glorious country of Greece, famed for learned men and heroes, at the foot of the Western Olympus, but not of the Eastern."

As soon as all the royal presents, as well as those of the patriarchs in return, had been exhibited in order, the religious Tsaritsa sighed from the depth of her heart, and shedding many bitter tears, thus expressed before all the sacred synod her affliction: "O Great Lord, Most Holy Jeremiah, Œcumenical Patriarch, Father of Fathers; and thou also, Most Holy Job, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, and all ye Most Reverend Metropolitans, Archbishops, and all your sacred Synod, blessed Ministers of Almighty God, to whom a larger measure of mercy and grace is vouchsafed with the Lord, and with His Most Immaculate Mother and all His Saints, who have from the beginning pleased God, and who are continually employed in putting up your prayers to them, I entreat, I adjure you, from my inmost soul, with the groanings of a broken spirit, that with all your power and zeal, ye pray to the Lord for our Great Lord the Tsar, and for me, who am the least of your daughters, that He would look favourably upon us, and receive your prayers, and grant us issue, and an heir, by His blessing, for this great kingdom of Vladimir, Moscow, and All Russia."

APPEND. I. All present were moved with sympathy when they heard the sorrowful speech of the Tsaritsa; the monarch himself, both patriarchs, the whole synod and court, and the wives of the boyars; all the hall was filled with their sobbing; and tears of compassion flowed from every eye; while the patriarchs, and the whole synod, with one voice exclaimed: "May God, who is above all, and His heavenly Mother, and His Great Forerunner, and all the Saints, look upon thy tears, O religious Tsaritsa, and on our groanings in thy behalf, and fulfil the wish of thy heart. May the Creator of all things, who looks upon all with the eye of His mercy, who has filled with all manner of earthly good this great kingdom, bestow on it also an heir, over and above all these His benefits!"

After this the whole synod left the Royal Palace, the Monarch and his religious consort accompanying the two patriarchs as far as the Golden Doors, and once more received from them their benediction. The prelates then returned to the Patriarchal Court, where, after the usual repast at table, the Most Holy Job exhibited the rich presents he desired to make to his brother the Œcumenical patriarch, and to the strangers who had come with him. These consisted of holy Icons, cups, velvet, precious stones and sables; and so he dismissed them with honour to their lodgings; and on the following morning the presents of the Tsaritsa, and of the patriarch, were carried thither to them.

A few days after his consecration, (on the 30th of January) the new patriarch, with the blessing of the Œcumenical patriarch, himself instituted as metropolitans, first Alexander, archbishop of Great Novogorod, and then Barlaam, archbishop of Rostoff; and both of them the day after their institution presented themselves before the Most Holy Job, with the customary acknowledgments, which consisted of purple velvet, damask silk, forty sables, a gilt cup, and fifteen roubles in money. Previously to the commencement of the Great Fast, the Œcumenical patriarch, with the permission of the monarch, went to pay his devotions at the Trinity

Lavra, where a commissioner of honour had been ordered to announce his intention to the Archimandrite Cyprian, the Bursar Eustathius, and all the monks of the church, with directions to receive him according to the same form and state as that with which they had been used to receive the metropolitans of All Russia themselves; and to offer him presents, such as an Icon of the Saviour, or of the Most Immaculate Virgin, with a frame and curtain of carved work, the most curious they could for its antiquity, and another Icon, or representation of the vision of St. Sergius, set in silver, with a golden glory, carved, a tankard and cup of silver, some velvet, satin, damask, and watered silk, forty sables, and one hundred roubles in money, three pieces of linen manufactured at the Trinity, a large water jug, wooden figured stands for dishes, water ladles and stone bottles. Likewise to all the strangers who came with the patriarch they presented some memorials of the Trinity Lavra, where they spent five days in the midst of brotherly entertainment.

During the Butter-week, the Boyar Godounoff paid a visit to the patriarch; and the Most Holy Jeremiah again urged his request to be allowed to return to Constantinople. But the boyar, in the name of the Tsar, begged him to remain till Easter, on account of the bad state of the roads: and that year Easter-week was rendered "Bright[9]" indeed in Moscow by the presence of two patriarchs, the Œcumenical patriarch, the senior of all, and the newly-created patriarch of Moscow. Previously to the departure of the Most Holy Jeremiah, in the month of May, the number of the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, was increased by desire of the Tsar, and decision of the synod. Hermogenes, who was to be afterwards patriarch, and who was then archimandrite of the monastery of the Transfiguration in Kazan, was made metropolitan of the kingdoms of Kazan and Astrachan, in the place of the former archbishop Tichon: Gelasius of the Steeps, was raised to be metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, in quality of Vicar of the patriarchal diocese. Besides four metropolitan sees, six new archbishoprics were added from

APPEND. I.

sees which had before conferred only the title of bishop; these were Vologda, Souzdal, Smolensk, Riazan, and Tver; and to the bishoprics of Kolomna and Chernigoff, which existed before, were added five others, of Pskoff, Rjeff in Vladimir, Oustiog, Bielo-ozero, and Dmitroff. The provident monarch, for greater security in future times, had an account of all these establishments of metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, written on parchment; and in like manner also of the arrival of the Most Holy Jeremiah, the election and consecration by him of Job as patriarch, and his consent to the appointment in future of the patriarchs of All Russia, by their own synod, with the proviso only that they were to give notice of it to the Œcumenical patriarch. He authenticated this document by having affixed to it his own seal of state, with those of the two patriarchs in red, and of seven other prelates in black wax, with the autograph subscriptions of all, and also with the signatures of the whole of the synod, in which, besides the Greek and Russian prelates, the greater part of the archimandrites and hegumens of the Russian monasteries took part, as well as other archimandrites from Constantinople, from the Sepulchre of our Lord, and from the Holy Mountains of Sinai and Athos.

The spring came, and together with it the period of the patriarch's departure. The Most Holy Jeremiah was invited for the last time to the palace of the Tsar, and was received with still greater pomp than on former occasions. For the whole of the palace was filled with esquires and officers of the courts of justice, courtiers, and boyars, who wished to receive yet once more the blessing of the Œcumenical Lord. The monarch himself met the patriarch at the Golden doors of the Hall of the Sign Manual, received his benediction, and taking him by the hand, led him to an elevated seat, whilst every one else remained standing in profound silence and reverence. Then there was brought before the Tsar, on a Golden Salver, a rich mitre, entirely covered with pearls and precious stones, with a Deïsus[10] in front, and the Crucifixion on the top, with choirs of martyrs, and bishops,

(among which were the angels or patrons of the Tsar and the Tsaritsa, Theodore Stratelata, and Irene the martyr) with this inscription in pearls; "From the Tsar to the patriarch."

The pious monarch arose, and taking the mitre, presented it with his own hand to the patriarch; saying, "Accept this, Most Holy Lord, that there may be preserved for ever in thy patriarchal palace a memorial of me and of my blessed ancestors." The patriarch, lifting up his eyes to heaven, invoked Almighty God, to bestow on the orthodox Tsar, and on his consort, long life and issue; and committed them to the prayers of the archangels, prophets, apostles, bishops, and martyrs, and of all the saints.

After this other gifts were presented to him, and to all who came with him, from the monarch, and his consort; similar to those which they received at first, with the addition of five horses, and a tent for the journey; and not one of the archimandrites, hegumens, deacons, relatives or attendants of the patriarch, in number amounting to thirty, were passed over by the bounty of the monarch; not only his two nephews, but even their uncle was counted among his relatives, and had special presents conferred upon him.

The archbishop of Elasson humbly entreated the Tsar to allow him to remain in his dominions and enjoy his favour; and he was encouraged to do so by the promise of being appointed to a diocese. After sitting a short time and joining in prayers, the monarch conducted the patriarch to the gilded doors of his palace, and there they took leave of each other for ever; for the patriarch was never destined again to look on the countenance of the Tsar, and he then bestowed his blessing on the monarch for the last time.

But the cares of the Tsar for the sacred person of his guest, extended farther to the whole time that he was in his territory, and even afterwards beyond the frontier. The two former commissioners were ordered to conduct the patriarch of Constantinople with an escort of thirty Esquires to Smolensk, and they were commanded to take all possible

APPEND. I.

care by the way to choose their stations for resting and passing the nights only in the great villages or hamlets where there was a post station; and that when they turned out their horses to graze in the country about them, they should send people to take care of them and secure them from any danger. At Mojaisk, Viazma, and Dorogobouge, provisions, suitable to his rank, as well as mead were to be furnished, and so from town to town, while the voivodes of Smolensk received orders from the monarch to collect as much as eighty vedros[11] of mead from the royal cellars or those of the monasteries, and to forward them together with other provisions for the table to Orsha, but previously to shew them, on the frontiers, to the patriarch, as the last present of the Tsar for his long journey; also to write a letter to the government of Orsha to procure a pass for him; and that orders should be given to the esquire who carried it, to collect at Orsha all the Lithuanian news possible, and return with it to Moscow.

When the patriarch had got beyond Smolensk, another messenger, named Roman Toushine, was despatched by the monarch, with orders to overtake him, even if he were beyond the borders of Lithuania, and to deliver to him in his name 1,000 roubles, to go toward the erection of a new patriarchal residence in Constantinople: and orders were given to the voivodes of Smolensk, to collect the above money quickly, wherever they could, and to give it to Toushine, when he passed through the town. The messenger carried also letters from the Tsar and Godounoff to the Most Holy Jeremiah, and moreover a friendly letter from the monarch to the Sultan, to obtain his protection for the Church of Constantinople, of which the following were the contents:

"Our God the Trinity, which was before all worlds, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now, and for ever, and world without end, Amen! In Him we live, and move, and have our being; by Him kings reign, and princes decree righteousness,—

"Theodore Ivanovich, by the mercy of Almighty God, Tsar,

and Great Prince of All Russia, Lord of Vladimir, Moscow, Novogorod, Kazan, Astrachan, Pskoff, Smolensk, Tver, Riazan, Polotsk, Perm, Viatka, Bulgaria, and many other lands; Ruler of all the northern countries of Siberia, and Lord of the country of Germany;

"To the Follower of Mahomet the Sultan Mourat, Lord of Constantinople, of the White and Black seas, Anatolia, Caramania, Roumelia, and other countries, our brother and good friend;

"There has come to us from thy dominions, brother, Jeremiah patriarch of Constantinople, in quest of alms, and has petitioned us to write in his behalf to thee, as to our brother, for his protection: and we knowing thy love to us, brother, write to thee in his behalf this letter with our own hand, that thou Sultan Mourat, our brother, wouldest maintain the Patriarch Jeremiah in his province, and order thy pashas to protect him, in the same way as thy ancestors maintained, and protected his predecessors in all things according to their rank. The same do thou also for our sake; and shouldest thou desire us to do any thing for thee, be assured, brother, that we, in return for this, are ready to shew our brotherly love to thee. Written in the Court of our kingdom, in the city of Moscow, in the year of the Creation 7097, in the month of May, the 11th of the Indict[12], the sixth year of our reign, and of our kingdoms of Russia the 43rd, of Kazan the 37th, and of Astrachan the 35th year." 1589.

The Boyar Godounoff sent, together with the letter of the Tsar, another also which he wrote himself to the patriarch, as follows:

"To the Most Holy Jeremiah, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople and New Rome, Œcumenical Patriarch, pastor and teacher of the Orthodox Law, true defender of the faith against the enemies of God, who hast fought the good fight piously and valiantly, my Lord and Father in God, my teacher, and instructor in the way of salvation, Boris Godounoff makes his humble petition:

"After returning many thanks to Almighty God, and

APPEND. I.

lauding thy labours and exertions in the cause of religion, and thy many acts of goodness towards me, I will, in the first place, pray thy Holiness, that I be not forgotten in thy holy prayers to God, that He may be gracious unto me through thy prayers, and may do unto me according to His mercy, as shall seem best to His holy will. We hope that when thy Holiness shall have reached thy own great patriarchal throne, in the imperial city of Constantinople, which is New Rome, thou wilt not fail to send us intelligence of thy safety; that we, having heard of it, may rejoice continually with spiritual joy.

"With respect to that of which thou spakedst with me, that I should dispose our most religious monarch to write in thy behalf to Sultan Mourat, I preferred thy petition to him, and the letter is written, and a copy of it is forwarded to thee together with this. Our monarch has written briefly to the Sultan, and has not made any allusion to the confiscation of the former Church, that so he might give no occasion for anger against thee. I reminded our pious monarch and his religious consort, that you were now beginning to build a new church in the imperial city; and they have sent to thee, for their health, 1,000 roubles towards erecting it; and do thou, Most Holy Lord Patriarch, pray Almighty God, and the Most Immaculate Mother of God, to bestow on the Tsar and the Tsaritsa health and issue.

"Moreover, my Lord, when thou art in Lithuania, inform thyself, I pray thee, respecting Maximilian the brother of the Cæsar, where he now is, in what fashion he continues to reside in Poland, or whether he has been dismissed? and if so, with what sort of understanding? Also whether the son of the king of Sweden is established on the throne of Poland, and of the Great Princedom of Lithuania? and to what degree? and what are his intentions for the future respecting our sovereign? And when thou hast made exact enquiries, pray send a letter, as secretly as possible, without either discovering thy own quality of patriarch, or naming me in it. And when, by the mercy of God, thou shalt have arrived in the imperial

city, write us word what kind of reception thou hast met with, and what may be the news in Constantinople? How Sultan Mourat now rules? whether there are not feuds among his pashas? and whether there is any excessive violence against the Christians? Also with whom the Turkish Sultan is at war? Whether he has lately undertaken any expedition against any kingdom of the Franks? and what they are looking forward to? Or, if thou shouldest send any trustworthy person of thine own to the Tsar, give him verbal instructions in these particulars, that the Tsar may be informed of all. And so I remain, my Lord, thy humble petitioner." APPEND. I.

The patriarch, after expressing his feelings of gratitude in a letter to the Boyar Godounoff, prayed to God "to preserve, for his sake, the health of the Tsar, and bestow upon him an heir, who might deliver them also from the hands of the infidels." But of the commission with which the boyar had charged him he wrote, that "he clearly understood the whole of his letter, and if it pleased God would write him word exactly of all: only he begged him to give orders to the voivodes of Smolensk and Chernigoff, to send on straight to him his letters, or the people he might send: that he had learned in Orsha, that Maximilian had been dismissed; and that they had eaten and drank and been reconciled with the king, while he who did not entertain them was entirely ruined; that the king would be at Wilna, and that nothing had been heard of the Tartars."

The following was the last letter of farewell from the patriarch to the Tsar, written from the frontier of his territories.

"To the divinely chosen and appointed Autocrat, the Tsar of All Russia, and of all the Orthodox Christians; health to thee, together with thy heaven-crowned and Orthodox Consort Irene, with all thy court and army.

"Our tongue fails, our mind cannot express our gratitude for all thy great grace and munificence, in what thou hast sent to me, thy humble beadsman, not only in money, but also

APPEND. I.

in supplies of meat and drink, which will suffice me till I reach Wallachia. Our duty is only to pray God, night and day, to preserve thy kingdom for many years, and to subdue all thine enemies under thy footstool: and may the Lord give thee the fruit of the womb, an heir to thy kingdom; and may He vouchsafe unto thee His heavenly kingdom.

"Do not either thou forget us in thy holy prayers while we are travelling on our way, that we may reach Constantinople safe and in good health; also thy royal alms shall be reckoned to thee in the Kingdom of Heaven. The grace and mercy of God be upon thy kingdom, thy Orthodox Tsaritsa, and all thy court and army. Amen."

THE COMING OF THE METROPOLITAN DIONYSIUS.

Two years after the departure of the patriarch in May 1591, the voivodes of Smolensk, Prince Andrew Troubetskoy and Niceta Trachanioutoff, informed the Tsar that there had arrived from the city of Tirnoff the Metropolitan Dionysius, accompanied by Callistratus archbishop of Greben in Bulgaria, and many archimandrites and monks of different monasteries, sent by the patriarchs and the whole Œcumenical Council; and at the same time they forwarded the following letter from Dionysius :—

"To the Orthodox, pacific, divinely favoured, and holy Tsar, the Autocrat of All Russia, of Moscow, Kazan, Astrachan, Novogorod, and other countries. Orthodox Tsar, Lord Theodore Ivanovich! I, the humble metropolitan of Tirnoff and Larsca, of the blood of the Cantacuzenes and Palæologi, a friend from the patriarch and the council, the lowest slave of the holy sceptre of thy kingdom, fall on my knees and make my obeisance before thy majesty; and I pray Christ our God to increase thy power, and to strengthen thy kingdom, and to raise thee above all the kings of the earth. Amen.

"I announce to thy majesty my arrival. I am sent by the Most Holy patriarchs, and the whole synod, to bear to thy kingdom their prayers, and their blessing. Inasmuch as by thy order the Patriarch Jeremiah appointed a patriarch in Moscow, he now, for the love and the attention thou shewedst him, has convoked a council of patriarchs, metropolitans, and archbishops, to complete the appointment of the new patriarch, the Lord Job; and for this purpose he has assembled all the metropolitans and patriarchs, excepting the patriarch of Alexandria; and it pleased the Œcumenical synod, and they decreed and all subscribed, to the effect that there should be a fifth patriarch of Moscow, to rank after the

APPEND. II.

patriarch of Jerusalem; and they have sent me as their confidential commissioner to announce to you all the truth; and that they should mention his name in their prayers to God, in like manner as they mention the names of the other patriarchs, throughout all the coasts of the Black sea, and that he should be named as patriarch in the country of Moutansk and in Wallachia, and also by the metropolitan of Kieff. And now I am on my way to the footstool of thy throne, and am the bearer of letters from the Council, and also of a letter concerning his rank and order to the new Patriarch Job. But do thou, O prudent and worthy Tsar, make such dispositions concerning my journey, as may accord with thy royal will. For the which, be with thee our prayers and blessing, and may the Lord give thee peace, health, and long life, and victory over all thine enemies visible and invisible! Amen."

The monarch gave orders to his voivodes to send on the metropolitan and archbishop with their suite from Smolensk, and despatched Michael Protopopoff as his commissioner to meet them at Mojaisk, and ordered him to question them whilst on the road as to the circumstances of the patriarchs meeting in council? whether they prayed for the Tsar's health? whether they named the patriarch Job in the litanies? and whether the Turkish Sultan and his pashas knew of it? from what places were the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, who were present at the Council? At the same time he ordered suitable supplies of meat and drink to be provided for them by the road. And when they were near Moscow, on the other side the suburbs at the Sparrow hills, the Patriarch Job sent on his own account to meet them, Luke the archimandrite of the Novospass, and Euphemius bursar of the monastery of the Virgin: they were directed first to invite the metropolitan and the archbishop to alight from their carriages to receive the message of the patriarch, and then to give them verbally his benediction, and so to enquire after their health. For their residence there was assigned to them the town lodge of the see of Novogorod.

After about a month, on the twentieth of July, the monarch

desired the presence of the metropolitan of Tirnoff, with Callistratus archbishop of Greben and the archimandrites, at his court. They drove to the Kremlin in consequence, and waited till he should shew himself in the Ambassadors' Hall. From thence they passed by the front entrances of the churches of the Archangel and the Annunciation, for at that time the royal palace extended to the church of St. Nicolas of Holstoun, to the grand stair-case, which was lined with esquires and officers of the Courts of Justice, to the Central or Golden Hall, where the monarch was seated on his throne in his royal robes; and around him stood his boyars and courtiers clad in cloth of gold.

The secretary, Andrew Schelkaloff, first presented the metropolitan, together with the Archimandrites Macarius and Euthemius, as having been sent from the Council, and then the Bulgarian archbishop with the archimandrites from the Holy Mountain and from the Holy Sepulchre, who had come in quest of alms. The monarch arose from his place, and received their blessing; and the Metropolitan Dionysius delivered to him besides the benediction of the patriarch of Constantinople and the other patriarchs.

The monarch demanded of him, "Whether God still continued to be merciful to his father and beadsman the Patriarch Jeremiah, and whether he still continued in health and security?" Dionysius replied, "By the mercy of God, and thy royal goodness, the Patriarch Jeremiah is in good health, and continues to pray God for thy holy, great, and royal empire." He then delivered a message in his name,—How that he, the Most Holy Jeremiah, having by the permission and petition of the sovereign appointed a patriarch in Russia, had convoked a council in Constantinople, and confirmed this appointment by an organic letter, which the metropolitan delivered to the Tsar from the whole synod, together with other private letters from Jeremiah to him and to the religious Tsaritsa. In the letter of the Council it was thus written:

"When the religious and pacific Autocrat, the Tsar of all the land of Russia, of Moscow, Kazan, Astrachan, Novo-

APPEND. II.

gorod, and of other Orthodox Christians, the Lord Theodore Ivanovich, received our humble person, and manifested by his reception of us how true a faith he had in God, and how great love to the Church of Christ, he enquired of us concerning the dignity of a patriarch, with respect to the manner of his synodical election and to the canons of the Church, and begged that we would appoint and nominate the archbishop of Moscow patriarch, so as to be in all respects like the others; of whom the Œcumenical patriarch of Constantinople was reckoned first in dignity by the first holy Œcumenical Council[1], and the blessed and apostle-like Emperor Constantine, and after him the Orthodox patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

"Our Humility saw with our own eyes, and rejoiced at witnessing the grace, the greatness, and the extension given by God to thy kingdom; for there is now only one great monarch who is Orthodox in all the earth, and it would not have been becoming to refuse to accede to his request. But when we understood his wishes, we appointed agreeably to them a patriarch in Moscow, whose name is the Lord Job, and by the grace of God we gave him the patriarchal Chrysobulla[2], and consented that he, the archbishop of Moscow, should exercise the authority of a fifth patriarch, and in dignity and honour should be reckoned equal with the other patriarchs for ever. This we did on the spot. But when our Humility had arrived at our throne in the city of Constantine, and had made known this affair, together with the counsel and request of the Orthodox Tsar, to the other honourable and most holy patriarchs, it obtained their approbation and their blessing.

"And further our Humility, together with the said patriarchs and the whole Œcumenical Synod, in unity and consent in the Holy Ghost, write and declare by this synodal letter:—In the first place, we acknowledge and ratify the appointment and nomination of the Lord Job, as patriarch in the imperial city of Moscow, and will that in future he shall be reckoned and named with us patriarchs, and shall

have his place in the prayers after the patriarch of Jerusalem; and shall reckon the Apostolical throne of Constantinople as the head and beginning[3], as do also the other patriarchs. In the second place, we consent that the name and honour of the patriarchate now given, shall not only be given and confirmed in perpetuity to the Lord Job personally, but that the synod of Moscow shall also appoint patriarchs to be the primates of their Church after him, according to those rules which were first adopted in the case of the fellow-servant of our Humility and our beloved brother in the Holy Spirit, Job; and for this end this organic letter is now confirmed, as a perpetual memorial for ever. The year 7098, the month of May." 1590.

And to this letter were affixed the signatures of Jeremiah the Œcumenical patriarch of Constantinople, of Joachim of Antioch, and Sophronius of Jerusalem, and of forty-two metropolitans, nineteen archbishops, and twenty bishops, who assisted at the Council.

After this the Metropolitan Dionysius presented to the Tsar a blessing for his consort also from the patriarch, a portion of the holy relics of the martyr Panteleëmon, and of St. Mary Magdalene; and as a present from himself, a royal crown of gold set with precious stones and pearls, and a clasp of the same kind, and another crown for the Tsaritsa. In like manner the Bulgarian archbishop and the four archimandrites made their reverence to the Tsar with presents of sacred relics. The pious monarch bade them to be seated on a bench, at his right hand, under the middle window; and after sitting a short time he dismissed them with honour to their lodgings, whither provisions of meat and drink were sent to them from the royal table. The metropolitan and archbishop, by the direction of the Tsar, were not invited before the First Festival[4] of the Saviour to the Most Holy Job, whom they found putting on his robes in the midst of the cathedral of the Assumption, to bless the water; and having paid their salutations to the Icons, they received his benediction. Dionysius then delivered a message from the

APPEND. II.

Œcumenical patriarch, and gave him his letter, and afterwards joined the rest in the procession with the cross. The Tsar, Theodore Ivanovich, on that day made his petitions in the Simonoff monastery to the Most Immaculate Mother of God.

The Most Holy Jeremiah, after having announced to the Patriarch Job by a synodal letter the confirmation of his election, desired that mutual prayers and commemorations should be made in all the churches of Russia, in which he was to be named first himself, according to his precedence, and Job was to come after the patriarch of Jerusalem. He exhorted him to the maintenance of unity in the Apostolic Church, and recommended to him the Metropolitan Dionysius, as of the blood of the emperors the Cantacuzenes and Palæologi, who in former time held the sceptre of Constantinople. In his private letter the patriarch entreated him to do whatever he could with the Tsar's Grace, and endeavour both by word and deed to obtain for him that extraordinary aid which the monarch had promised at his departure; as besides the Tsar of Russia there was no one who was able to restore the patriarchate from its ruins. On the festival of the Assumption, the metropolitan officiated together with the primate of Moscow, and afterwards dined at his table.

The visit of the metropolitan to the Boyar Godounoff was much later than that which he paid to the patriarch; for it was only on the fifth of October that Dionysius announced, through the secretary of embassy Schelkaloff, that he had a message and a letter for Boris Feodorovich. Godounoff informed the Tsar of it, and begged permission to receive him. The interpreter Svastine Demetrieff accompanied the metropolitan, who rode into Boris' court-yard past the cathedral church, and alighted from his horse on the pavement at the foot of the stairs. He was met and received at three several times by the boyar's people in dresses of ceremony; at the gates, on the stair-case, and in the entrance hall; after which, on his reaching the doors of the central

apartment of the mansion, Godounoff himself, in a dress of flowered silk, presented himself to receive the blessing of the prelate, and enquired after his health. Dionysius delivered to him the compliments[5] and benediction of the Œcumenical patriarch, and presented to him in his name a portion of the relics of the great martyr Panteleëmon, and some myrrh; and as a slight acknowledgment from himself, two pieces of satin worked with gold, a steel sabre, and two valuable vases. The boyar accepted the relics, but declined the presents; saying, "Great Lord, Metropolitan Dionysius, it does not become us to receive gifts from you; we ought rather to impart to you of those things with which God hath blessed us."

But the metropolitan humbly entreated the boyar not to do him such a discourtesy as to refuse his presents, and Boris yielded so far as to order the two valuable vases only to be accepted; and then having taken his own seat, he desired the metropolitan to be seated on the large bench at his right hand: and after they had sat a short time, the boyar dismissed the metropolitan, begging him not to take it amiss that he had not invited him to a repast, which he was prevented from doing by the press of state business with which he was engaged; but he would send him provisions from his own table to his residence. Boris then accompanied the metropolitan to the spot where he had received him at the first, and his attendants conducted him on from thence to the entrance, the stair-case, and the gates.

The metropolitan also delivered two letters to Godounoff, one from the Council, with nearly the same contents as that written to the Patriarch Job, but with these remarkable additional expressions; that "the whole Council rejoiced at the appointment of the patriarch of Moscow, at the wish of the holy Tsar, and at his, Godounoff's, desire; and that it was meet, that in such a Christian country there should be a patriarch at the court of the Orthodox Tsar." In his private letter the Most Holy Jeremiah wrote thus:

"To the most glorious, most illustrious, most honourable,

APPEND. II.

most exalted, the great nobleman and master of the horse, the Lord Boris Feodorovich, the beloved son of our Humility in the Holy Ghost,—Grace, and peace, and mercy, be with thy Lordship from Almighty God our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent herewith a synodal letter respecting the patriarchate of Russia; besides this we have written in the name of the synod of prelates to our Orthodox Tsar, that he will grant us an alms and royal bounty, as much as it seemeth good to him, according to the grace given him of God; and if he send to us six thousand pieces of gold for the erection of a patriarchal church and residence at Constantinople, he will become a new founder of the patriarchate. And for this reason we write to thy Greatness[6] that thou mayest look upon our necessity, and interest thyself with the Orthodox Tsar and his consort, that this good work may be accomplished, and the buildings completed. And so the patriarch will reside in them; and the poor bishops will glorify God, and we will pray Him for the Orthodox Tsar and his Tsaritsa, as the new founders of the new patriarchate.

"It is very well known to you, my Lord, that the Orthodox Autocrat and his consort promised to render us effectual aid: now the time is come for us to receive their royal bounty. For this reason we have selected and sent to the holy Tsar and to thy Lordship, a man of ability and experience, and of very noble blood, being descended from the former emperors of Constantinople, the Most Reverend the Lord Dionysius, metropolitan of Tirnoff, and primate of All Bulgaria, the brother and fellow-minister of our Humility, whom we love in the Holy Ghost; and he has been selected for this office in our own patriarchal presence, by the whole of the sacred synod. Wherefore do thou receive him, as thou didst receive our Humility; and shew him thy affection, and the regard thou bearest to the great Church, as a lover of Christ, and merciful: and the thing of which we write to thy excellency do thou perform, and thou shalt receive it back seventy times seven fold from God, with our prayers for ever. (He has moreover a message which he will deliver to thy Lordship:

I have sent thee, by him, my blessing, some of the relics of St. Panteleëmon, and some myrrh.")

The Metropolitan Dionysius requested also, during his visit to the Boyar Godounoff, permission to pay his reverence to the Wonder-worker St. Sergius, in his Lavra of the Life-giving Trinity; and he went thither shortly afterwards, with the consent of the Tsar. The like honours were shewn to him as had been shewn to the patriarch, both as respected the table and the offering of alms, in accordance with directions sent by the boyar through the commissioners to the archimandrite and the bursar. Also, gifts were presented to them: from the archimandrite, five Icons framed and overlaid, forty sables, money, and wooden vessels made at the monastery; from the bursar, with all the rest of the brethren, two Icons with frames, a sable cloak, one piece of damask silk, and one of watered, and a silver ewer. Presents were made in like manner to all who had come with the metropolitan; that is to say, to Jeremiah archimandrite of St. Sabba, to the two archimandrites Macarius and Eustathius, to Cyrill the archdeacon, and to Damascene bursar of the monastery of the Archangel, to Neophytus archimandrite and Joachim prior of the monastery of Panteleëmon on mount Athos, to Gregory archimandrite of Khilendar, to Methodius of the Transfiguration, to the Archimandrite Damascene from the mountain Meteorsky, to Athanasius of the monastery of the Holy Ghost, and to Sophronius a monk of the Vatopedsky monastery, together with other priests: for the Lavra of the great Wonder-worker Sergius was inexhaustible in its liberality, and yielded not even to royalty itself in the magnificence of its presents.

Towards the close of that year, the Tsar desired the presence of the metropolitan at his court, for the purpose of having his audience to take leave; and Dionysius drove into the city in a sledge, and alighted at the entrance of the palace, between the churches of the Archangel and the Annunciation, and proceeded from thence to the Golden Hall of the Sign Manual; where the Tsar Theo-

APPEND. II.

dore was waiting ready to receive him seated on his throne, and surrounded by his boyars.

After he had received his blessing, the secretary Andrew Schelkaloff, announced in the sovereign's name to the metropolitan that the Tsar invited him to the royal table. Dionysius, having most humbly returned thanks for all the grace and favour of the pious Autocrat, left the presence, to wait till the banquet should be served in the Hall of Audience, which looked towards the river and was ornamented with carpets of cloth of gold; but the table was spread in the central Golden Hall. On that same day there dined together with the metropolitan at the monarch's table certain noble Circassians from Piati-Gori, the Prince Yansoch, and his suite; dishes of various meats were sent from the Tsar, first to the highest boyars, and then to the metropolitan. Before them cups, ladles, and dishes, blazed with gold. The pages who served were dressed in coats of cloth of gold, and were decorated with gold chains. After the dinner was finished, a quantity of the royal mead was sent to the metropolitan's residence, by the hand of the Page Basmanoff and the clerks of the kitchen. Besides this, the monarch presented the metropolitan, on his departure, with a piece of black Venetian velvet, three pieces of damask, three of satin, a double-handled tankard and cup of silver, four score sables, and six score marten skins, and 100 roubles in money; the whole to the value of 310 roubles; besides this, an Icon of the Most Immaculate Mother of God, with carved frame-work made with hinges that the two halves might shut up, copes of damask silk ornamented with gold, and the clasps to them set in pearls: from the Tsaritsa he also received similar presents, to the value of 180 roubles. His two archimandrites also, Macarius and Euphemius, and the archdeacon, and the other archimandrites from the Holy Mountain, and the monks and attendants, all received presents.

Soon after this, on the 19th of December, the metropolitan received an invitation, at the desire of the monarch, from the

archimandrite and brethren of the Choudoff monastery, and was met and received by them with honour at the Holy Gates; and after the Office of the Vigil, the prior complimented him in a speech, in which he thanked him for all the great labours he had undertaken, and invited him for the next day to dine at the table of the brethren in the refectory, on which occasion he presented him with the usual gifts.

More than a month after he had had his audience of leave, the Tsar desired the metropolitan to have an audience to take leave of the Patriarch Job, in the presence of the secretary of embassy, Andrew Schelkaloff; and Dionysius, with his archimandrites and monks, went in consequence to the court of the patriarch, passing through the cathedral, where he heard a Moleben to the great Wonder-workers, Peter, Alexis, and Jonah. This being the first audience of leave granted by the patriarch, it was ordered with all possible pomp and ceremony, in order the more to impress upon the Greek stranger the greatness of the Russian primate. The court itself was lined with Streltsi. In the entrance hall, and up the stairs, were drawn up the patriarch's esquires, and the clerks of his chancery, in dresses of ceremony. Two of these met the metropolitan on the top of the stairs from the corridor, and in the entrance-hall at the doors of the saloon he was met and received a second time by Athanasius Maligine, secretary of the Chamber of Judgment, and by the patriarch's own secretary, John Shebarshine.

In the White Dining Hall the Patriarch Job himself was seated in his place on a large bench; whilst at an interval of about six feet on his left, on another similar bench, sat Gelasius metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and Metrophanes archbishop of Riazan, and below them the clergy of the cathedral; while from the higher bench to the pillar were ranged on a lower form the archpriests and other officers of the churches of the Mother of God and the Archangel. On another bench, to the right hand side of the patriarch, sat the Archbishops Jonah of Vologda and Arsenius of Elasson, with the archimandrites and hegumens; while in that part

APPEND. II.

of the hall which belonged to the dignitaries of state, were placed the courtiers of the Tsar's court, the officers of the courts of justice, and esquires of the patriarch; all chosen men, and all in dresses of ceremony.

On the entrance of the metropolitan the patriarch arose, and having read the Ἄξιον, made the customary prayer, and gave his benediction to Dionysius; and then said, "Whilst thou hast abode in the great empire of our pious Tsar, hast thou continued in good health and safety? and art thou free from all kind of difficulties?" Dionysius replied, "By the mercy of God, the bounty of the Tsar, and thy blessing, we are well, and in perfect ease and contentment." After this all the Russian prelates and archimandrites received the blessing of the Greek, and he in his turn received theirs; and after he had been blessed by the patriarch, he seated himself near at a little distance from him at his right hand, on another bench. Then the Most Holy Job arose, and made a speech, in which he recounted to the metropolitan the whole course of events, from the very first beginning, with respect to his own election and appointment, the counsel of the Tsar, and the determination of the patriarch; and lastly, Dionysius's own coming, with the synodal letters; and concluded by saying, that letters should also be delivered to him for the patriarch and the council.

In his turn, the metropolitan entered into a long explanation of the acts of the council of the patriarchs; that they had examined the precedents afforded by antiquity, and had particularly considered how in ancient times the Orthodox Emperor Constantine, when he desired to have a patriarchate in his imperial city of New Rome, had conferred with the pope of Rome, and the patriarch of Alexandria; and so Metrophanes was appointed the first patriarch of Constantinople; and that having found in this a precedent, they immediately wrote a letter to confirm the establishment of a patriarchate in Moscow, and had sent him, Dionysius, to Wallachia to the voivode with the intelligence, in order that the bishops under his authority might also subscribe this

letter, which they did with pleasure. Dionysius then advised "that they should in future act in concert in all spiritual matters with the Œcumenical patriarch, according to the custom of the other three; and that on account of their distance from Constantinople, the Most Holy Job should choose to represent him some one of the Greek metropolitans or archbishops, who was capable, and should cause him to reside constantly near the Œcumenical patriarch, for councils and other spiritual business; for that it was usual for the other patriarchs also to have commissioners to act in their stead residing with the Œcumenical patriarch at Constantinople."

But the Most Holy Job replied to this proposal, that he must first consult with the Orthodox Tsar and the sacred synod, and would then do whatever was most proper. And then he gave the metropolitan his blessing, with a Panagia, and dismissed him; charging him at the same time to bear his blessing and duty to the Œcumenical patriarch, and his blessing and respects to the other patriarchs and the synod.

About the middle of February, the Tsar ordered that the metropolitan should be suffered to depart on his journey, and that the Esquire Nelioub Parthenieff should conduct him as far as Chernigoff, together with ten other esquires, twenty Streltsi, and a company of carabineers, which was to be replaced by a larger force from the Voivode Prince Gregory Zvenogorodsky at Briansk. At Pochep ten more Streltsi were added to the former twenty. Nelioub was ordered to take carriages for them in the towns and villages at the rate of one carriage for two persons, according to the usual orders given to the mayors and voivodes; also to purchase provender for the twenty horses of the metropolitan on the road, with the money which had been allowed him for that purpose, and if that were insufficient, then to take it without paying in the villages, and enter it in a book, which he was to transmit to the Embassy Office. An order was sent from the Tsar to the Paphnutieff monastery at Borofsk, that the monks should be assembled from the other religious

APPEND. II.

houses, and all together give a public meeting and reception to the metropolitan of Tirnoff, in the same manner as if he were primate of All Russia; that supplies of provisions and mead suitable to his rank should be furnished, and handsome gifts presented to him, inasmuch as all the Russian bishops, who were in Moscow at the time that Dionysius took his leave, and even the two hegumens of the monasteries of St. Cyrill and St. Joseph, had severally presented him with gifts to be kept as tokens of remembrance.

From Chernigoff the Voivode Gregory Borisoff was to send and escort the metropolitan and his archimandrites to the frontier with thirty men of his own esquires and one hundred armed Streltsi. But he had not yet reached Chernigoff, when the courtier Matthew Proesteff was sent after him, bearing letters and presents for the patriarchs, which he was ordered to deliver to the metropolitan; and besides this, Boris Godounoff ordered him to deliver in his name tokens of remembrance for the patriarch of Jerusalem to Damascene the bursar of the Lavra of St. Sabba, who, together with his archimandrite and other superiors of monasteries from Mount Athos, had accompanied Dionysius.

The monarch, in a long letter addressed "To the Most Holy Pastor in God, Jeremiah, Teacher of the Commandments of Orthodoxy, Curator of the preaching of the Gospel, firm pillar of Orthodoxy for all Christians, and patient sufferer for Christ," again set forth all the history of his own counsel respecting the institution of the patriarchate. That in past time "for our sins, Old Rome fell away through the Apollinarian heresy, and the Roman Church and the whole of Italy were filled with the unsound doctrines of Pope Formosus, and after him of Peter the Stammerer; and since then, through the agency of Pope Christopher, the Church of Rome finally and altogether separated herself from our holy and Orthodox faith; on which account the Most Holy Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, having first accurately examined into the faith of the heterodox Christopher, forbade, by the advice of the Œcumenical patriarchs, that the popes of Rome should be

any longer commemorated in the Greek Churches. So the Pope Eugenius also, imitating the impiety of his predecessors, assembled a double-minded eighth council; but Mark, metropolitan of Ephesus, exposed and refuted his corrupt tradition; while in all our kingdom of Russia, by the grace of Christ, the holy Christian faith shines as the sun in the heavens, and sends forth its holy rays throughout all the world, agreeing in all things with the four Œcumenical patriarchs, even as we received it originally from our pious ancestors, those great monarchs who holily rest in God, even from the times of apostle-like Prince Vladimir, the illuminator of the land of Russia; for these reasons it was fitting, for the honour of our holy and pure Greek faith, that the exalted throne of the great Wonder-workers, Peter, Alexis, and Jonah, in the capital city of Moscow, should be raised to the patriarchal dignity."

Further on, describing the fulfilment of his royal wishes, and the election of Job, he says, "Since in ancient times Silvester, the Œcumenical patriarch of Constantinople, was honoured with that dignity by the holy Œcumenical council and by the apostle-like Emperor Constantine, it has been here synodically ordained that thou shouldest be named the first, and in the place of the Pope, O Jeremiah, by the mercy of God archbishop of New Rome, and Œcumenical patriarch, and next to thee the patriarch of Alexandria, and then the patriarch of the royal city of Moscow, the capital of our vast dominions, and after him the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem." And this was thus circumstantially stated by the pious monarch, because in the Letters sent from Constantinople the patriarch of Moscow had been placed after all the others, which probably was the cause of the metropolitan being so long detained in Moscow, before he was admitted to an audience with the Most Holy Job; for the Tsar insisted strongly that his Church should take precedence of those of Antioch and Jerusalem; and he was only just willing to yield the second place to Alexandria, because her primate still bore the name of Pope, and the title of Œcumenical Judge.

APPEND. II.

Theodore further made mention how he had dismissed with great presents the Most Holy Jeremiah to Constantinople; "that the great throne of the Church of Constantinople, the mother of all the Churches in the universe of the one Orthodox faith, might not be left without an able shepherd; and that the rational sheep of Christ's flock might not be devoured by ravening wolves; also, in order to obtain a synodical confirmation of the patriarchate of All Russia, and that in all the four Œcumenical patriarchates of the Greek empire, prayers might be offered up for the Tsar's health, and that he might have a son. And the God of all mercies for the prayers of his priests will loosen perhaps the bonds of barrenness, and give him heirs to his house."

Lastly, touching the coming of Dionysius, he declared to them "that they had settled the order of commemoration in full synod according to their former determination, that is to say, that the patriarch of Moscow should stand third; and for the future, he desired of the Most Holy Jeremiah, that he would inform by letter his brother and fellow-minister, the newly-created Patriarch, Job, and his successors in like manner after him, whenever it should have pleased God that any one of the Most Holy patriarchs filling one of the great thrones should depart from this transitory and corruptible world to the other and future world of endless bliss, and would announce to him the name of his successor; which same thing they would also take care to do by him on the part of the empire of Russia, and the successors of the first patriarch, Job, would notify their own accession to the patriarchs of Constantinople, in order that in all cities and places of the Greek empire and in all the four patriarchates the patriarch of Moscow might be named with the same honour as the other Œcumenical patriarchs, in like manner as they also would be commemorated throughout the whole empire of Russia. He further expressed his wish that for the future in our great Catholic Church there should be unity of counsel, and agreement with the four Œcumenical patriarchs, at the election of the great patriarchs; and that they

should rightly hold our holy Orthodox faith in all things, all together, and for ever, according to the tradition of the Apostles, and the canons of our holy, great, and divinely-inspired fathers."

The monarch also wrote three separate letters in the same sense, to Meletius patriarch of Alexandria, recently appointed in the room of Silvester who was dead, to Joachim of Antioch, his former guest, and to Sophronius of Jerusalem. The Most Holy Job also wrote on the same subject to the Œcumenical patriarch, only making use of a few different expressions respecting the pope, saying that "formerly there were in all the world five patriarchs; but that the pope of Rome had fallen away from true piety, and had loved darkness rather than light, and had drawn nigh unto the host of fallen angels." Job also firmly insisted on the point of the degrees of precedency among the patriarchs, placing himself third, next after the patriarch of Alexandria, for which he grounded himself on the constitution of the synod; and he requested that they should make mutual commemorations of each other in all places, and also that there should be unity of counsel, will, desire, and agreement, among the patriarchs respecting the holy, undefiled, Orthodox faith; that they might all labour and provide together for the holy Churches of God, and offer in them one united prayer to God; keeping firmly to all that was enjoined by the apostolical traditions, and by the seven Œcumenical councils, and regarding it as unchangeable for ever. He also informed the Most Holy Jeremiah, that he had used his influence with the Tsar and the Tsaritsa, to induce them to assist in the building and ornamenting of his patriarchal church, and charged him earnestly to pray that they might be blessed with issue. He wished for the prelate "that he might be enabled to hold his venerable head above all among the foreign nations, and that having completed his course in peace and quietness, he might receive an eternal inheritance of unspeakable rejoicing in the haven of God." At the conclusion of his letter he begged his acceptance of forty sables.

APPEND. II.

With respect to the building of the church, the pious monarch wrote a separate letter to the Patriarch Jeremiah. "Your Holiness, in conjunction with the whole Episcopal Council, has informed us in your petition, that the ancient patriarchal residence having been taken out of your hands, and the cells for the religious, which Orthodox princes had erected, having been also taken away and ruined, you have in consequence looked out for and purchased a church with a mansion and spacious apartments attached to it, for 6,000 pieces of gold; that for this sum you are still in debt; and you have begged our royal majesty to render you assistance to enable you to pay for this new residence, which you have bought for the patriarchate; that so I may become the rebuilder of the Church of God. We, for our parts, have not neglected this application of your holiness; and for the re-establishment of the Church of God, and the building a residence for the patriarch, we have sent you by the Metropolitan Dionysius an Omophorion (that is, a pall) with a pearl fastening, a cup of gold for holy water, and a towel worked with seed pearls, for the decoration of the Orthodox Church, and your Holiness' own person; also for the building itself, eighty score of sable skins, sixty score of marten skins, ten ermine skins, and fifteen poods of walruss ivory. But do thou, O Œcumenical patriarch, after having received these contributions from us, zealously employ thyself in setting up a house to the honour of the Mother of God, and a patriarchal residence. We have also sent by the metropolitan, for the acceptance of Meletius the patriarch of Alexandria, an episcopal mitre, a golden cup for holy water, an epigonatium embroidered with seed pearls, and eight score sables; the same presents also for the patriarchs of Antioch, and of Jerusalem. And do thou, O Most Holy Jeremiah, forward these our packages and letters to them. As to what thou wrotest to us of the many injuries which the monks of the sacred monastery on the Holy Mountain had sustained from the unbelieving Hagarenes, that we should look favourably upon them, and render them some assistance, that they might be relieved from their great necessity, we, for the sake

of thy petition, have received them graciously, and having bestowed on them our royal bounty, have sent them back to you again."

Thus the grace and munificence of the Tsar extended itself also to the monasteries of Mount Athos. He wrote to the Primus, that is, the senior archimandrite of the Great Lavra, on the Holy Mountain, informing him that he had sent him by Neophytus, archimandrite of the monastery of Panteleëmon, for the repose of the soul of his father of blessed memory, 500 roubles in money, and rich copes, to be expended in that monastery; and he desired that the Primus would look to the building, and if Neophytus should not arrive with the things committed to his charge, that he should then entrust the building in the monastery of Panteleëmon to Gregory, archimandrite of the religious house of Chilandara; and that he would himself send a fresh supply of money for the building of the church, with vessels and ornaments, as soon as he should learn that the building was finished. The monarch also gave to the Archimandrite Neophytus, and to Christopher the other archimandrite from Jerusalem, the superior of the solitary Lavra of the Holy Sabba, letters in his own name, to permit them in future to pass through his territories, whenever they pleased, for the purpose of collecting alms.

The Boyar Godounoff also informed the Œcumenical patriarch of the royal bounty, and entreated his prayers for the fruitfulness of his sister, the Tsaritsa Irene; "that numerous branches from the royal stock might flourish, as the future hopes of the empire of Russia, and of all faithful Christians." He also thanked him for all trouble he had been at, in connection with the establishment of the patriarchate of Moscow. After he had enumerated the royal gifts to the other patriarchs, he desired also himself "to compliment his great master and lord, his father, instructor, and the Saviour[7] of his soul with a present of forty sables; and his wife Maria, he said, begged him to accept a linen kerchief, and his son Theodore a cup of silver gilt, with a cover;

APPEND. II.

and so he entreated him "not to forget him in his prayers, that God might be merciful to him, and do that for them, which He, in His holy will, saw would be best."

The boyar wrote in a similar style "To the Most Holy Sophronius, by the mercy of God, patriarch of the great city of Jerusalem, guardian of the Life-bearing Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Church of His holy Resurrection, the Pastor and Teacher of the Commandments of Orthodoxy, the true wrestler against the enemies of God, the valiant defender of religion," and informed him of the establishment of a patriarchate in Russia; and of the bounty of the Tsar; and begged of him to offer up the usual prayers for fruitfulness in child-bearing. He then told him, that he had sent by the monk and bursar Damascene to the Life-bearing Sepulchre of Christ and the Church of His Resurrection, a chalice of crystal set in gold, with amethysts, rubies, and emeralds, three golden dishes, a golden lamp for the Sepulchre of our Lord, set with amethysts and rubies, and a golden thurible, with eight score sables, for oil and frankincense, that the lamp might not want for oil as long as it pleased God. He also sent by Damascene to the Most Immaculate Virgin in Gethsemane, vessels for the use of the Church, a chalice, a disk, and a silver thurible; also 500 pieces of gold for the edifice, to be expended in buying a vineyard or farm, in order to establish for the future a daily service in the Church of the Most Immaculate Mother of God in Gethsemane, and to keep a light ever burning. "And we have desired," he wrote, "Damascene to confer with thee on all, both for the holy place itself, and for the establishment of the service and the light. But if the farm or vineyard should cost more than the above sum, do thou, Most Holy Sir, my lord and teacher, write me word how many more gold pieces are required, and I will send them immediately. I have also sent you, by the same person, forty sables from myself; my wife Maria, humbly entreats you, O great lord, to accept a piece of linen, my son Theodore a gilt cup, my daughter Oxynia an Ikon, being a representation of the Saviour, and a piece of linen.

And do thou kindly receive these things from us; that so, for the sake of thy holy prayers, the Lord may do with us according to His mercy, as shall seem best to His holy will."

The letter of the boyar to Damascene, the bursar of St. Sabba's monastery of the Archangel, dated March 1592, is worthy of remark. After having enumerated to him all the offerings and presents to the patriarch, he writes: "We have ordered that all these things should be given to thee, venerable Sir, in the presence of the Metropolitan Dionysius; also that the 500 pieces of gold, for the Church of Gethsemane, should be delivered to thee; and do thou shew those gold pieces to the metropolitan. But all that which has been given to thee above this sum, do thou, O venerable Sir, keep to thyself, and shew it not; but apply it to the building of the house of the Mother of God, as I have directed thee."

Might there not be in this mysterious order some secret commemoration for the soul of the Tsarevich Demetrius? For the boyar did not entrust this money either to the Metropolitan Dionysius, or to Christopher the archimandrite of the Lavra, or to the patriarch of Jerusalem himself; but ordered that the offerings and presents only should be delivered to him, and that he should be consulted respecting the purchase of a farm, for the benefit of the Church, at Gethsemane; and in the event of the money proving insufficient, promised him a further supply. That therefore, which was given by him to the bursar, was destined to be applied for some other special purpose.

Thus terminated the great embassy of the metropolitan of Tirnoff, from the council of the Œcumenical patriarchs, for the purpose of confirming the establishment of the patriarchate of Moscow and All Russia.

THE END.

NOTES.

NOTES.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

P. 3, 1.—A Lavra or Laura, is a monastery of the first class, in which are many monks living in common; from a Greek word λαύρος, signifying wide, populous. Λαύρα, a street, is explained ὅτι δι' αὐτῆς οἱ λάοι ῥέουσι.

P. 4, 2.—The Church and State of Georgia, or Gruzia, were united with those of Russia in 1801. The Church was ruled till 1811 by an Archbishop and member of the Holy Synod, sent by Russia. An Exarch was appointed in 1814. He was styled Exarch of Gruzia and Imeritia. He is always a member of the Synod; and the supreme ecclesiastical government of the Church of Georgia is vested in the Synod, in the same way as that of the whole Russian Church. The local administration is conducted by a "Kontór," which is an ecclesiastical court inferior to the Synod, but superior to the Diocesan Consistory. It may be defined to be a Provincial Consistory; and the Diocesan Consistories are subject to it. It consists of the Exarch, one Archbishop, two Archimandrites or Abbots of large monasteries, and two Archpriests of Sobors, i.e. Collegiate or Cathedral Churches.

CHAP. I.

P. 8, 1.—Constantine or Cyrill was the first who wrote the Slavonic language, using for that purpose the Greek letters, with the addition of certain other characters, partly Armenian or Hebrew, and partly of his own invention. The Slavonic alphabet thus formed consisted of forty letters, and received the name of the Cyrillic. It is still used with some alterations in Russia, Wallachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, and Servia. The Poles and the Latins of Moldavia make use of the Roman characters, having been obliged to abandon the Slavonic by an order of Pope John XIII. The characters now used in Russia for printing books not of an ecclesiastical nature were introduced by Peter the First, who wished to make the Slavonic character approximate in appearance to the printing of the West.

P. 8, 2.—Blachernæ is a harbour at Constantinople, so called from the name of a Scythian prince killed there.

P. 8, 3.—The words of the anthem alluded to are as follows:—Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατήγῳ τὰ νικητήρια, ὡς λυτρωθέντες τῶν δεινῶν, εὐχαριστήρια ᾄ αγράφομεν οἱ δοῦλοι σου Θεοτόκε. Ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχουσα τὸ κράτος ἀπροσμάχητον, ἐκ παντοίων ἡμᾶς κινδύνων ἐλευθέρωσον, ἵνα κράξωμέν σοι· χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε. Δόξα, καὶ νῦν.

P. 8, 4.—Ruric, the founder of the Russian monarchy, was the son of the Swedish or Flemish monarch Ludbrat and his consort Oumila, who was the daughter of Prince Gostomuisla, the last prince of the republic of Novogorod. He was born at Upsal A.D. 830, and in obedience to the dying advice of his grandfather to the inhabitants of Novogorod, was invited by them to assume the reins of government A.D. 862. Partly by conquest of the neighbouring tribes, and partly by their voluntary union, he succeeded in establishing the first monarchical government in Russia. He died A.D. 879, and left his brother-in-law, Oleg, the guardian of his infant son Igor, and regent of the kingdom, which he governed till his death, A.D. 912.

Igor, son of Ruric, was born in Great Novogorod A.D. 877, and ascended his father's throne A.D. 912. He was killed in battle by the Drevlians A.D. 945, and buried in the wood where he fell. He married the celebrated Olga, by some said to have been a princess, by others the daughter of a ferryman, who governed the kingdom for ten years during the minority of her son Sviatoslaff. She died A.D. 967, at the advanced age of 85.

The system of government introduced into Russia by Ruric and his Norman followers was a modification or rather an imitation of their own national customs, the principal characteristics of which were that only one family among them possessed the power of ruling over the rest of the nation in peace, and leading them in war; this privilege was not exclusively enjoyed by any one member of that family, but was divided among them all. They each inherited the title of Conung, and had each their own separate principality, their own little court and army, and ruled them independently of the rest. And if, in consequence of this constant subdivision, any member of the reigning family was left without an appanage, he was assisted by the others in winning one either at home or abroad by the edge of his sword. In other countries which the Normans conquered, such as Normandy and Naples, this system of government was modified by the opposition of the natives in support of former rights, and thus became either allodial or feudal; but in Russia, from the extent and uncultivated state of the country, from the paucity of inhabitants and large towns, they met with no opposition, and thus introduced their own laws and customs with very little alteration, the chief of which were the following:

1. Every descendant of Vladimir, as a member of the reigning family, bore the title of Prince, and had a right to an appanage, and a certain district or portion of country. 2. The appanaged prince was the complete and independent ruler of his own portion of territory, had his own capital, his own company of followers, or army, his own boyars, nominated perhaps the bishop, erected his own towns and fortresses, issued ordinances, had his own courts of judicature, rewarded and punished according to his own discretion, and made war or peace with whom he pleased. 3. The title of Great Prince belonged to the eldest son of the eldest branch (the senior according to the rights of primogeniture) of the appanaged princes. In the event of quarrels between the other princes he possessed the right (a very undefined one) of compelling them to peace; in the event of war with foreign countries, to require their assistance against the common enemy; and to be their chief, or head of the confederacy. He however

possessed absolute authority only in his own appanage; he had no right to interfere with the internal government of the other princes, nor to require any tribute from them; but on the other hand he was obliged to give an account of the manner in which he had expended the sums collected for the common weal to these very princes, who did not reckon themselves his vassals, but sovereigns equally independent with himself, who were however bound to have recourse to him when any thing occurred which affected the general interests of Russia. 4. The dignity of prince was hereditary in the male line only. The result of this system was a loose kind of league, under one feeble head, of many independent princes, who were continually fighting with each other for their own selfish ends, for the attainment of objects in which neither the nobility, nor the clergy, nor the communities of the towns were interested. There was no war of principles waged as in other countries, where the feudal laws had been established by the Norman conquerors. The princes did not attempt to oppress or deprive their subjects of any of their rights or privileges, nor did they on the other hand rebel against their rulers, or attempt to weaken or lessen their authority. Hence it was that these constant quarrels, which continued upwards of two centuries, led to no other result than that of enfeebling their general power of defence against a foreign enemy, and thus involving them with their subjects in one general ruin when they were attacked by the Mongols. It is reasonable to conclude, that had Ruric and Vladimir instituted a different form of government, something like that which afterwards prevailed under John III., when all the appanaged princes became completely subjected to the Great Prince, they would have been enabled successfully to resist the incursions of the Tartars, and would thus have preserved their ancient boundaries on their western frontiers. And from the advantage they possessed of having a perfect and uniform language, used equally by the peasant and the prince, by clergy and laity, formed after the model of the Greek, (whilst those of the other nations of Europe were either barbarous dialects, or still in a state of transition,) from their having constant communication with the capital and provinces of the Greek empire through their clergy, nobles, and merchants,—(while many of those nations which have since preceded them in the career of civilization were living in a state scarcely above that of savages,)—had not all these advantages, I say, been destroyed by the irruption of the Mongols, it is probable that the Russians, instead of being nearly the last of the European nations in learning and the arts of civilized life, might have been among the first, and, instead of following, have set an example to others.

Orloff says, that in the battle fought between Demetrius Donskoi and the Tartar Khan Mamai, 513 Russian princes lost their lives.—*Orloff's Remarkable Events of the Church and Country.* Moscow, 1818, vol. ii. p. 67. This gives some idea of the number of these princes, and into how many petty appanages the country must have been subdivided.

P. 9, 5.—I here give an extract of a passage from a book published at Rome in 1826, entitled, Dissertatio de Origine Christianæ Religionis in Russiâ, page 17, &c. descriptive of this event:—

"Eo (Episcopo) Sacrum Divini Evangelii librum protendente, ac quædam Salvatoris Nostri miracula Deique in veteri testamento prodigia exponente, statim Russi subdidêrunt, Nisi nos etiam ejusmodi aliquid viderimus, ac potissimùm quale in trium puerorum Camino accidisse dicis, nullam prorsus tibi fidem habebimus, nec tuis verbis animum auresque nostras ultrà accommodabimus. Præsul vero de illius promissionis veritate fretus, qui ait, "Si quid petieritis in nomine meo, accipietis. Qui credet in me opera quæ ego facio et ille faciet, et majora his faciet," tum nimirum cum non ostentationis causâ sed ad salutem animarum hæc quæ fiunt sunt futura, ait ad eos, Etsi non licet dominum tentare, si tamen ex animo statuistis ad Deum accedere, quod libuerit hoc et petite; omniaque Deus præstabit propter fidem vestram, etsi nos despicabiles et minimi sumus. Petiêre ipsum fidei Christianæ librum (Divinum scilicet sacrumque Evangelium) in rogum injici ab eis accensum, ac siquidem librum nihil flamma læserit aut exusserit ad Deum accessuros. Quibus sic dictis, ac Sacerdote oculos ac manus ad Deum levante atque dicente, "Clarifica tuum sanctum nomen Jesu Christe, Deus noster, etiam nunc in oculis gentis hujus universæ," Sancti Evangelii liber in rogum ignis conjectus est. Nec paucis decursis horis, ac rogo exinde extincto, inventum est sacrum volumen illæsum, nec edacis flammæ vi ullâ violatum, nullâ ejus ab igne noxâ aut diminutione, ut ne fimbriæ quidem librum claudentes ullam aut corruptionem aut labem senserint." (Demum sic narrationem suam terminat) "Quo viso Barbari ac miraculi magnitudine in stuporem acti, omni sublatâ hesitatione, baptismo intingi cœpêrunt."—*Vita Basil. Maced.* num. XCVI. p. 211, et seq.—*inter Hist. Byzant. Script. post Theophan.* Edit. Paris, 1685.

P. 9, 6.—Sviatoslaff I., son of Igor, was born A.D. 920, and ascended his father's throne A.D. 955. He was killed A.D. 972, in a battle with the Pechenegians, who it is said made a drinking-cup of his skull, and inscribed on it a sentence to this effect, "In seeking for that which belonged to others he lost his own."

Yaropolk I., eldest son of Sviatoslaff, was born in 945; succeeded to his father's throne A.D. 973; and after having killed his second brother, Oleg Prince of the Drevlians, in battle, he was himself, in his turn, assassinated by order of his youngest brother, Vladimir Prince of Novogorod, A.D. 980.

P. 10, 7.—"Trezni." These consisted of pugilistic and athletic games resembling those described by Homer and Virgil, which were held in honour of the dead. They were always celebrated at the funeral of persons of distinction; but from their having been mixed up with many heathen rites and ceremonies, they were piously abhorred by the princess.

P. 10, 8.—Peroun was one of the principal of the ancient heathen deities of the Russians. He was the god of thunder, and answered in many respects to the Jupiter of the Greeks and Romans.

P. 11, 9.—Nestor represents Vladimir as speaking thus of the preaching of the Greek mission in a public meeting of his state, called by him in consequence, A.D. 987. "They recounted to us with much eloquence what had taken place from the beginning of the world. It was wonderful to hear, and excited the admiration of all. They assured us that there is another world beyond this, and that if any one by Baptism makes a confession of that faith which they have embraced, and die in this faith, he shall rise again after death, and never die more throughout eternity; but that he who will not believe, shall in that world be burned with everlasting fire."

It is worth while to remark in passing, that, whatever may be the right view of the abstract question respecting pictures or Icons, and the shewing of outward respect towards them, the Russians cannot reasonably be blamed for revering a usage which they received together with Christianity itself, and the first introduction of which was made, in part at least, the instrument of so blessed a result as the conversion of the Great Prince Vladimir, the Constantine of their Church and nation.

P. 12, 10.—A detailed account of the attack upon Constantinople in 866 by Oskold and Dir, is given by the Byzantine annalists, Zonaras, Cedrenus, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, &c. &c., as also by the Patriarch Photius and his biographer Ignatius, both of them contemporaries and eye-witnesses. Photius in his Circular Letter says, that "not only have the Bulgarians come over to the Christian faith, but also the nation of the Russians, who, proud of their successes, lately even exalted themselves against the Greek empire, are beginning to exchange the impurities of heathenism for the pure and Orthodox doctrines of Christianity." The Russian Chronicles repeat the same, and mention in addition that the Emperor Basil, under whose reign the first attack took place, had persuaded them after the conclusion of peace to become Christians; and that the Patriarch Photius had sent them priests and a bishop: the effect of which no doubt is to be traced in what is mentioned by our author as occurring "eighty years afterwards," (i. e. A. D. 945,) in the time of Igor; and it is remarkable that the Chronicles speak of native bishops by the name of "Photian" bishops, as acting in concert with the Greek metropolitan sent from Constantinople for the conversion of the Russians in the time of Vladimir.

P. 13, 11.—"After the ambassadors of Vladimir had been with the Niemtzi, (i. e. Germans,) and had seen their religious worship, they went to Constantinople, and came to the Emperor. The Emperor demanded for what reason they were come, and when he was informed of the cause, he was rejoiced, and treated them with great honour during the day, and on the following morning sent to the patriarch, and informed him, saying—'There are certain Russians arrived here for the purpose of enquiring into our faith; wherefore prepare the church, and let the clergy be in readiness, and clothe thyself in thy priestly robes, in order that they may see the glorious magnificence of our God.'

"When the patriarch had received this intelligence, he ordered the clergy to be called together; and they celebrated a festival according to the cere-

monial of their Church, and lit up the tapers, singing in chorus with all due solemnity. And the Tsar conducted Vladimir's ambassadors into the church, to a convenient place, from whence they could see the entire beauty and wonderful arrangement of God's Church, and the devout order observed by the patriarch, the priests, and deacons in their celebration of divine worship.

"The ambassadors were utterly transported with astonishment, and applauded the religious service of the Greeks with heartfelt rapture. The Emperors Basil and Constantine dismissed them with many marks of honour. They delivered their report to the prince before the assembled boyars and elders in the following manner; 'We know not whether we were not in Heaven, for there is no such sight to be seen upon earth, &c.' Whereupon the boyars said to Vladimir, 'If the Greek religion had been a bad one, thy grandmother, who was the wisest of mortals, would not have embraced it.' And Vladimir answered and said, 'Where shall we be baptized?' The boyars replied, 'Wheresoever it pleaseth thee.'"—*Russian Chronicle.*

P. 13, 12.—Cherson has been very recently re-erected into a (Russian) bishopric.

P. 14, 13.—The Metropolitan Platon says nothing of Vladimir's recovery from bodily blindness; he makes him to say, "To-day I have become acquainted with the true God."

P. 14, 14.—This name does not appear any where, either in the Russian Calendar or the Lives of the Saints.

P. 14, 15.—The same title "Veliki Kniaz" is now used to designate the younger male branches of the imperial family, and is usually translated by English writers after the Germans, Grand Duke, though the word and title "Kniaz" when used of any but the reigning family is always rendered by our word Prince.

P. 15, 16.—The archdeacon who accompanied Macarius patriarch of Jerusalem into Antioch, in the time of Nikon, gives a very similar description of the baptism of a whole tribe at once, of which he himself and the patriarch were eye-witnesses.—*Travels of Macarius.*

P. 16, 17.—The boyars were nobles of the first class: in peace they were governors of towns and districts, in which they administered justice; also they attended the court, and formed the privy council of the sovereign. In war they led their retainers to the field, and exercised nearly the same authority over them as the feudal nobility of France and England did over their vassals.

P. 16, 18.—The Petchenegians were a fierce and barbarous nomadic horde, which had migrated from central Asia, and pitched their tents on the

Steppes between the Oural and the Volga. But having been expelled from thence by another more powerful horde the Poloftsi (whom we shall frequently meet with in the course of this history) they advanced nearer to the Russians, and occupied the country between the Don and the Northern coasts of the Black sea.

P. 16, 19.—Even at present there are very many of the Russian churches which are built of wood.

P. 16, 20.—It is stated in the Chronicle of Nestor that in the year 6491, (or A.D. 983 according to our computation) "Vladimir went against the Yatvagers (a Finnish tribe, up to that period still unconquered) and gained a victory over them, and took possession of all their country. On his return to Kieff he and his attendants and all the people celebrated their victory by a religious festival in honour of their gods. And the elders of the land and the boyars said unto him, 'Let us cast lots upon our sons and daughters, and on whomsoever the lot shall fall, him will we sacrifice with the sword unto our gods.'

"And there was a Varagian, whose residence stood on the spot now occupied by the church of the Holy Mother of God, which Vladimir built. This Varagian had come from Greece from the Imperial city, together with his son, whose name was John. He dwelt in Kieff, and was firmly attached to the Christian faith. His son was still young, and endowed with personal and mental charms. Upon this man fell the lot through envy of the devil. And the people who were sent to him declared as follows,—'Behold, the lot has fallen upon thy son, and it is resolved to offer him up as a sacrifice to the gods.' And the Varagian answered them, and said, 'Yours are no gods, but lifeless idols; they remain for a day, and then become rotten; they are the works of men's hands, formed with the axe and knife. But God is one only, who dwelleth in heaven; Him the Greeks serve and worship as the Creator of the heaven and the earth, who has made the stars, the sun, and the moon, the Creator of man and of all creatures, whose lives are in His hands. But as for your gods, what have they created? they who are themselves the work of men, and will soon perish and be forgotten? I will not give up my son to such an infatuated people.'—The persons who were sent to him returned and related this to the assembly; upon which the people came armed and destroyed every thing that was round the house. He stood on a covered balcony with his son, and the people said to him, 'Give us your son, that we may offer him up to the gods.' But he replied to them, 'If they be really gods, let them send one of their number to seize upon my son, but why should you wish to offer up a sacrifice to them?' Upon this the people cried out, and hewed in pieces the beams which supported the balcony, and in this manner destroyed both the Varagians."—*From MS. of the late Baron Rosenkampf.*

P. 17, 21.—"The Pecherskay," i. e. The Monastery of the Caves or Catacombs. Leontius is called a Photian bishop in the Chronicles.

"In the year 6498 (i. e. A.D. 990.) four of the Bulgarian chief princes

came to Kieff, and embraced the Christian faith. In the same year Michael the metropolitan of Kieff and All Russia, repaired to Novogorod, with certain bishops selected from the clergy who had continued in Russia from the time of the Patriarch Photius. The patriarch likewise sent six bishops to his assistance. They accompanied Dobrina (Vladimir's uncle) and Anastasius to Novogorod, and there destroyed the idols. Many of the people received baptism, churches were erected, and priests were ordained in the towns." The annalist concludes his account by saying that "there was an abundance of fruits and provisions, and peace and quiet every where prevailed. Ambassadors likewise arrived from the Greek emperors for the purpose of strengthening the good understanding which prevailed. The next year the metropolitan repaired into the interior of Russia as far as Rostoff, accompanied by Dobrina and Anastasius, together with four 'Photian' bishops. The other 'Photian' bishops remained in Kieff. And an innumerable company of people were baptized." We find that conversion proceeded with rapid strides, and that the clergy who were already in the country, and well acquainted with the language and manners of the people, were most active in forwarding the good work. "There came also Greek architects to Kieff, who erected large stone buildings for the supreme courts of justice. A Petchenegian prince also, Kutchug by name, a disciple of Mahomet, came to Kieff for the purpose of embracing the faith of the Greek Church, and after receiving baptism became a vassal of Vladimir, who was sincerely attached to him, and he was highly esteemed by the metropolitan, as well as by all the princes and boyars. In the same year the Chronicle again makes mention of an embassy from Rome sent by the Pope to Vladimir in order to assure him of his love and regard.

"In the following year (6499, or A.D. 991,) all the inhabitants of the Souzdal country were baptized. Vladimir himself went there with two Photian bishops, and founded on the banks of the river Kliazma a city to which he gave his own name. He built there a church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God, and caused the people to be instructed by the Photian bishops. Thus did Christianity diffuse her light over Russia, like the rising sun, with progressively increasing splendour, and Vladimir rejoiced thereat, and was liberal towards the poor and afflicted, and distributed his gifts among all the people.

"An army was despatched against the Petchenegians, and returned with victory. Ambassadors arrived also from Boleslaff the king of the Poles."—*Russian Chronicle, from Rf. MS.*

P. 17, 22.—"On occasion of the solemn consecration of the church in the year 993, Vladimir, with the benediction of his ghostly father the Metropolitan Leontius, made a grant to the Church of the tenth of all dues and fines, of the production of the earth, as well as of the customs and taxes of his towns, as also the tenth of the cattle, and of every produce, all for the glory of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Virgin Mary His Immaculate Mother, and to the honour of his ghostly father, the metropolitan of Kieff, and of All Russia.

"This solemn act, well pleasing unto God, was completed in the presence

of all the bishops and chief officers in the Russian dominions; and Vladimir upon this occasion bestowed upon the clergy, in compliance with the precepts of the *old Greek Nomocanon*, all that jurisdiction, without reserve, which belonged to them in conformity with the said precepts."

At the same time he proclaimed it as a law that no one of his successors, nor of the boyars, nor any other person, even unto the end of the world should venture to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the clergy; and he confirmed this ordinance, which was deposited in writing in the church of the Holy Mother of God, by imprecating a curse against any one who should dare to circumscribe these privileges.

"There were present on this occasion the metropolitan of Kieff and of All Russia, Leontius, and the Photian bishops, and the Russian bishops, together with their presbyters and monks, as also the princes and boyars: and Vladimir said,—'If any one shall transgress this my ordinance, which I have enacted in conformity with the ancient Greek *Nomocanon*, may the curse light upon him!' And upon this, Vladimir celebrated a great festival with the metropolitan, and the bishops, and the boyars, and many of his grandees, and dispensed many charitable gifts among the needy and afflicted."—*R. Chronicle from MS. of Baron Rf.*

P. 17, 23.—The following is an exact and verbal copy of the edict in question according to the text of the most ancient codex of the 13th century. "In the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;—I, Prince Basil, called also Vladimir, son of Sviatoslaff, grandson of Igor and of the holy Princess Olga, have received the saving rite of Baptism from the Tsars of Greece, and from Photius the patriarch of Constantinople, and have brought to Kieff the first Metropolitan Leontius, who thereupon has baptized the whole country of the Russians. Some years after that, I built to the honour of the Holy Mother of God the church called *The Church of the Tenths* (Dessatinaya) and endowed this church as the *Cathedral* with the right of receiving tithe from the whole country of the Russians, so far as my dominion extends, with this proviso, that to this house of the Saviour and of His Holy Mother belongs the *tenth mite* (squirrel skin) of the judicial dues in the districts of the princedom, and from commercial imposts the produce of the tenth week; moreover, from every house and family, from cattle and from reaped corn the tenth must be paid. And since upon reading the Greek *Nomocanon* I have discovered that, according to a precept therein contained, there are certain matters of dispute which it does not belong to the prince and his boyars and judges to take cognizance of and to decide upon, therefore have I, after due deliberation with my consort the Princess Anna, and with my children, resolved to concede the administration of justice in certain fixed cases to the Church, that is, to the metropolitan and collective bishops of the Russian territory. Accordingly, neither shall my children, nor grand-children, nor my latest descendants either cite before their tribunals *Ecclesiastical Persons*, or usurp that judicial power which has been conceded to the Church; for this exclusively belongs to her according to my grant, and is given by us in all towns, districts, and circles (Pogossen), in all communities adjoining the towns (Slobodcu), and in all villages; and

I have commanded my judges and officers (tiouns) to do no injury to the jurisdiction of the Church, and to meddle with no cases belonging to her office, without consulting with the episcopal representative or deputy.

"The matters which appertain unto ecclesiastical jurisdiction are as follows: divorce, adultery, contests between married persons on the subject of property, rape, incest, magic, poisoning, witchcraft, incantations; accusations of three kinds—of fornication, poisoning, and heresy; the investigation of the following transgressions and offences, biting, striking of parents, disputes between children, and brothers and sisters-in-law, on the subject of the property of any person deceased, and legacies, sacrilege, robbing of the dead, mutilation of the cross, doing injury to the walls in the church, polluting the church by the introduction of cattle, dogs, and birds, and other unbecoming actions in the church; the mutilation of a man by the wife of his adversary, sodomy, worship of heathen gods in retired places, in groves, and by streams, and lastly, child-murder. In all these cases the Church is to pass judgment; but the prince and his boyars and judges shall not take cognizance of such judicial matters. These ecclesiastical privileges I have accorded to the holy bishops, in compliance with the decisions of the primitive Church, and the seven Œcumenical councils. And if any person shall infringe this decree, he is incapable of making any compensation, according to the Word of God, and he goes to destruction. I command all my officers, and judges, and lieutenants in no wise to prejudice the jurisdiction of the Church; and of the judicial fines to pay nine portions to the prince, and the tenth to the Holy Church. Shall any one, however, detract from these privileges of the Church, he shall be fined with the loss of his goods, and in addition, he will have to answer for it before God and the assembled angels on the last day, where no action of man, be it good or evil, escapes judgment, where no intercession is of any avail, and righteousness alone saves man from the second death, from everlasting torment, from the laver of the condemned; that is, from the unquenchable fire of hell. On that day, so saith the Lord, I will recompense the unrighteous; in his soul the fire shall not be quenched, and the worm shall not die. The good inheriteth life and unspeakable blessedness, and the wicked is exposed to inexorable judgment. It is also among the ancient regulations, that the bishops should have the supervision of the measures, weights, scales, and balances of the town and of the market. Over these matters must the bishops watch, neither increasing nor diminishing them; and on the universal day of judgment they shall answer for this, and for the salvation of souls. Now these are the persons who belong to the Church: the stewards (tiouns) of their estates, the priests, (popes,) deacons, and their children, the wife of a priest, and the whole body of clerks; moreover, the monk, the nun, the woman who bakes the holy bread, the cloistered pilgrim, the physician, the man who by a holy miracle is restored to health, the slave whom his master releases for the good of his soul, the stranger, the blind, and the lame; especially the monasteries, the hospitals, and establishments for the care of guests and strangers. All these are the people who, for the sake of God, belong to the Church. Between these parties, the metropolitan or the bishop is to act as judge, and to arrange

the offences, disputes, and contentions which take place among them, as also the succession of property. Notwithstanding, when any judicial matter arises between a person belonging to the Church and another man, the tribunal appointed to judge the cause shall be partly civil and partly ecclesiastical.

"In case that any one, either of my children or descendants, shall act contrary to this decree, made in conformity with the regulations of the Holy Fathers and of the first Tsars, or shall any lieutenant, or tioun, or judge, or any other person infringe these privileges of the Church, may the curse light upon him both in this and the life to come, according to the judgment of the Holy Fathers and of the seven general councils."—*Baron R. MS.*

P. 17, 24.—The canons of the Church had already been formed into a collection before the third general council, and the whole of that earliest collection was referred to and confirmed in the acts of the fourth, held at Chalcedon A.D. 451. Justinian, in the sixth century, (Novell. 131,) gave the force of law to all the ecclesiastical canons made or confirmed by the four general councils; and John, surnamed the Scholastic, in his reign made a digest, under fifty titles, of all the canons then received by the Greek Church, and prefixed an index of reference to all the canons which are contained under the same fifty titles. This was the first Nomocanon. In the seventh century, the Council of Constantinople in Trullo confirmed this code as augmented since the time of Scholasticus by several additions, and made 102 fresh canons of its own, which the second Nicene Council, about the end of the eighth century, divided between the fifth and sixth general councils, neither of which had made any canons of their own, and so confirmed the whole body of canons made or confirmed "by the six Œcumenical councils;" and this is the code which, together with the canon of the Nicene Council itself, is invested with the authority of law by the Basilica. Lib. v., tit. iii., cap. ii.

The Nomocanon was afterwards re-edited by Photius, who appended the canons of two synods held in his own time at Constantinople; and these were the last additions. In the twelfth century, the Scholia of Zonaras, Austin, and Balsamon were successively appended.—*See Preface to Beverege's Synodicon.*

P. 17, 25.—The Russian bishops were usually selected by the prince of the district to which their diocese belonged, with the consent of the superior clergy and the chief of the citizens, and were then presented for consecration to the metropolitan. Each bishop was absolute in his own diocese, the limits of which were accurately defined. Every bishop possessed the right of appointing all the priests, deacons, and inferior servants of the Church to their respective parishes, and if they were guilty of any fault to suspend them, and after trial to eject them. He had also the right of appointing all the archimandrites, or abbots, and abbesses to the religious houses in his diocese, of raising them to higher rank, or depriving them of it. The metropolitan had no right to interfere in the diocese, and the only power

he had over a bishop was to try him if any accusation were brought against him, and if he were found guilty to degrade him.

P. 17, 26.—It may be useful to observe how broad a distinction seems to have been taught by the Greek clergy and felt by their converts to exist between the use and veneration of Christian Icons, whether pictures or statues, as established by the second Nicene Council, and received, together with the faith of Christ, (see note on P. 11, 9. at p. 353.) by the Russians, and the Pagan idolatry, which had formerly prevailed among them. Some of our own countrymen are very much given to confound the two things together in speaking of "unreformed Churches," while it is commonly reported that conformity on a large scale with *Pagan* idolatry has been required and yielded in India without any man's so much as having an idea that such enforcement on the part of the rulers, or compliance on the part of their servants, subjects them to any excommunication from the spiritual authority of their Church.

P. 17, 27.—Platon, in the beginning of his History, seems to succeed in proving that the ancient Slavonians had neither temples nor priests; and he shews, by many examples, that the word Trebischa, usually rendered 'temple,' means merely an altar of sacrifice, generally raised in the open air in the midst of the forest; and that the Jretsi or Sacrificers were not priests by profession, but the elders of the tribe or nation, whose duty it was to preside and officiate when any solemn sacrifice was made to the gods.

P. 18, 28.—Vladimir I., son of Sviatoslaff, was born in Kieff A.D. 948; received the city and district of Great Novogorod as his appanage A.D. 970; got possession of the whole Russian monarchy on the death of his brother Yaropolk A.D. 980; embraced the Christian religion in 988; died July 15, A.D. 1015; and was buried in a marble coffin in the church of the Tithes, in Kieff, near his wife, the Greek Princess Anna.

P. 18, 29.—The contrast between the cruelty and vices of this prince when a heathen, and the mildness of his disposition and the purity of his morals after his conversion, are very properly adduced by the annalists as strong proofs of the Divine character of the religion he had embraced.

P. 19, 30.—This sign of sanctity seems to have been taken as the ground of all, or very nearly all, the canonizations of saints in the Russian Church, and accordingly is of perpetual recurrence; and in justification of this idea they quote those words of the Psalmist which apply originally and strictly only to our Saviour: "Thou wilt not suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption." The phrase, "his uncorrupted relics were found," in the Greek Church, is nearly equivalent to saying "He was canonized," in the Latin.

CHAP. II.

P. 19, 1.—Sviatopolk I. is said by Oustreloff, (from whose History I have taken this and other statements respecting the sovereigns of Russia,) to have

been the son of Yaropolk, the elder brother of Vladimir, adopted by Vladimir into his family and therefore called by our author brother of Vladimir's own sons. He took violent possession of the throne in 1015; was finally expelled from it in 1019; and died in his flight to Poland A.D. 1020.

Mistislaff of Tmoutaracan was prince of the modern Tamar, then a powerful kingdom between the sea of Azoff and the Black sea.

P. 20, 2.—Which adjoined the church of St. Sophia and his own palace, in the centre of the city.

P. 21, 3.—The Russian word generally used for Constantinople is "Tsaregrad," which may be translated literally "the city of the Tsar," "the imperial or royal city."

P. 21, 4.—Alexis became patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1025, and died in 1043. His successor was Michael Cerularius, who sat till 1058, and in whose time the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches was finally completed. For an account of the rules of the Studium monastery, the reader may consult a work published at Leipsig, by J. Emmanuel Müller, A.D. 1721, entitled "Studium Cænobium Constantinopolitanum ex monumentis Byzantinis erutum."

P. 22, 5.—"Domestic," i. e. which was used by the emperor's own singers at Constantinople.

P. 22, 6.—"His" or "Her Angel" is the customary phrase in the Russian language to designate the patron saint after whom any one is named. At the same time the Russians have also the belief that an angel, properly so called, is set over every baptized person in the Church, whom they call, as in the West, the guardian angel, without confounding him with the angel or saint from whom they have their Christian name.

P. 22, 7.—The name means "Come out," in memory of the cries made by the people to the idol which had been thrown into the river, in the same way as is related afterwards to have been done at Novogorod (p. 17). The people cried "Come out, our Lord God." The monastery was built on the spot where the current of the river threw the idol ashore.

P. 22, 8.—"The Pecherskay Lavra" means the Lavra or Monastery of the Caves or Catacombs, afterwards so celebrated in the annals of Russia, which stood outside of the town. It was entirely destroyed by Batius the Tartar in 1240; was rebuilt and again destroyed by the Tartars; and lastly, in 1718, it was reduced to ashes by a dreadful fire, in which many valuable ancient manuscripts perished. It was again rebuilt by its archimandrite Joannicius, assisted by Peter the Great, and re-consecrated in 1729. It contains numerous churches and other buildings, and is surrounded by a high wall 550 fathoms in length. It is at present under the immediate

rule of the metropolitan of Kieff, who is its archimandrite, as the metropolitans of Moscow and St. Petersburgh are the archimandrites respectively of the Trinity and Nefskay Lavras.

P. 23, 9.—A district of Russia to the south of Kieff.

P. 24, 10.—The word in the Russian signifies "Rest" or "falling asleep," and is a literal translation of the word always used in the Greek, κατακοίμησις. I have generally, however, rendered it by the Latin term "Assumption," because this term would always be employed in writing or speaking any language but their own by the Russians and Greeks themselves.

CHAP. III.

P. 27, 1.—The word "over" may be illustrated by other expressions in use to designate the customary salutation of any holy relics in a church. They refer to the action of bending down over; the relics being generally in a raised tomb, often with a canopy above.

P. 27, 2.—Isyaslaff, who was twice driven by his brothers and the other princes from Kieff, "demanded assistance from Borislaff king of Poland, and even from the German emperor Henry the Fourth, and for that purpose had sought the mediation of Pope Gregory the Seventh, to whom he had sent his son. The conditions upon which the pope promised him the assistance of the Roman Catholic princes are mentioned in the Epistle of Gregory, which is printed in Baronius' Annals, tom. xi. p. 472. "Gregorius servus servorum Dei Demetrio" (this was the name which Isyaslaff received at his baptism) "regi Russorum et reginæ Apostolicam benedictionem. Filius vester limina Apostolorum visitans ad nos venit, et quod regnum illud dono Sancti Petri per manus nostras vellet obtinere, eidem beato Petro Apostolorum Principi debitâ fidelitate exhibitâ, devotis precibus postulavit, indubitanter asseverans, illam suam petitionem vestro consensu ratam fore ac stabilem, si Apostolicæ auctoritatis gratiâ ac munimine donaretur. Cujus votis et petitionibus, quia justa videbantur tum ex consensu vestro, tum ex devotione poscentis, tandem assensum præbuimus, et regni vestri gubernacula sibi ex parte beati Petri tradidimus, eâ videlicet intentione atque desiderio caritatis, ut beatus Petrus vos, et regnum vestrum, omniaque vestra bona suâ apud Deum intercessione custodiat, et cum omni pace, honore quoque et gloriâ idem regnum usque in finem vitæ vestræ tenere vos faciat, et hujus militiæ finito cursu, impetret vobis apud supernum regem gloriam sempiternam. Quinetiam nos paratissimos esse noverit vestræ nobilitatis serenitas, at ad quæcumque justa negotiâ hujus Sedis auctoritatem pro suâ necessitate petierit, procul dubio continuo petitionum suarum consequatur effectum. Præterea ut hæc et alia multa, quæ litteris non continentur, cordibus vestris arctius infigantur, misimus hos nuntios nostros, quorum unus vester notus est et fidus amicus; qui et ea, quæ in litteris sunt, diligenter vobis exponent, et quæ minus sunt, vivâ voce explebunt. Quibus pro reverentiâ beati Petri, cujus legati sunt,

vos mites et affabiles præbeatis: et quicquid vobis dixerint ex parte nostrâ, patienter audiatis, atque indubitanter credatis: et quæ ibi ex auctoritate Apostolicæ sedis negotia tractare voluerint, et statuere, nullorum malo ingenio turbari permittatis, sed potius eos sincerâ caritate favendo juvetis. Omnipotens Deus mentes vestras illuminet, atque per temporalia bona faciat vos transire ad gloriam sempiternam. Data Romæ XV. Kalendas Maii, Indictione decimatertiâ hoc est anno 1075."—*Baron R. MS.*

P. 28, 3.—Isyaslaff I., or Demetrius, son of Yaroslaff, was born in Kieff, A.D. 1024; ascended the throne in 1054; was twice expelled from it, again recovered it, and was killed in battle Dec. 3, A.D. 1078.

Sviatoslaff II., son of Yaroslaff, ejected his brother Isyaslaff from the throne of Great Prince A.D. 1072, and died in 1076; on which Isyaslaff recovered the throne, and died possessed of it as mentioned above, in 1078.

P. 28, 4.—Eustratius Garidas was elected Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1081, and deposed in 1084.

P. 28, 5.—The Patriarch Photius sent to Bulgaria, to the prince Michael the Nomocanon of Johannes Scholasticus, together with a missive on the office of the civil ruler towards the Church from himself. This was translated into Slavonic, and passed from Bulgaria into the Russian Church, where it received the additions of the Law for Judging the Laity, the Edicts of Vladimir and Yaroslaff, the Russian National Law, &c. It was not till long afterwards that the Nomocanon of Photius himself, with the Scholia of Aristin and Zonaras, superseded it in Russia.

P. 28, 6.—Vsevolod I. (Andrew,) son of Yaroslaff, born in Kieff A.D. 1030, succeeded to the throne A.D. 1078, died in Kieff April 13th, A.D. 1094, and was buried in the church of St. Sophia.

P. 29, 7.—In 1055 the Poloftsi, or Comani, came into the district of Pereyaslavla; they were a nomadic tribe of kindred origin with the Pechenegians, and probably with the people now called Kirgizi. They had lived before in the Steppes of Asia near the Caspian, and are described as having been a very barbarous and ferocious people.

P. 29, 8.—The novice in the Eastern Church wears only the cassock; the simple monk wears also the gown, and the *καμηλαυχίον*. The mantle worn over the gown on certain occasions, is the badge of the *μικρον σχῆμα*, or lesser habit. The great angelic habit, or simply *σχῆμα*, is associated with the idea of total seclusion, and preparation for death; and the scapulary and other badges of it are covered with emblems of death and Christian faith.

P. 30, 9.—This prince is said to have married Gouda, daughter of Harold king of England, for his first wife.

I will here give a short extract from a paper presented to the Society of Russian History and Antiquities by Eugenius, metropolitan of Kieff, which is applicable to the name of the prince mentioned in the next page. "The ancient Slavonians had only one name, to which was added their patronymic. The Russo-Slavonians had usually three names: one given by the father at their birth, another at their baptism, and the third their patronymic; as, for instance, Sviatopolk Michael, Isyaslavich. The termination of the patronymic in 'ich' is an honourable distinction, that of the common people always ending in 'eff.' The Christian names of many of the princes are not known, and it is imagined they were purposely kept secret, that the bearers of them might not be subject to sorcery or incantation, which it was supposed could not take effect unless done in the right name."

Sviatopolk II. (Michael) son of Isyaslaff, born in Kieff, A.D. 1051, succeeded to the throne of his uncle Vsevolod I., A.D. 1094; died April 16, A.D. 1113; and was buried in the church of the Archangel Michael.

P. 31, 10.—A kind of collar about the neck and breast and shoulders, used at the coronation of the ancient emperors, set in which were pictures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, &c.

P. 32, 11.—Vladimir II. (Theodore) son of Vsevolod, surnamed Monomachus, was born in Kieff, A.D. 1053; by the general consent of all the appanaged princes he ascended the throne of Great Prince after the death of Sviatopolk, A.D. 1113; died May 19th, 1125; and was buried in the church of St. Sophia in Kieff.

P. 32, 12.—The Chronicle of Nestor raises their number to 700, whilst Tatisheff, with more probability, reckons them at 30.

P. 33, 13.—An episcopal interdict is said by Platon, in his Ecclesiastical History, to have consisted in forbidding the performance of every kind of service in the churches, and every kind of rite or sacrament in the houses; therefore the sick would die without making confession, or receiving the eucharist, and would be buried without funeral rites, children would remain unbaptized, and marriages unblessed; he therefore concludes that this interdict could not have been general, as otherwise the innocent would have suffered with the guilty, and that it was only laid on those who were actually engaged in the revolt.

P. 33, 14.—The word "Véch," here translated Assembly, applies exclusively to the popular assemblies of the two free towns of Novogorod and Pskoff.

As the free towns of Novogorod the Great and Pskoff were governed in a different manner from the rest of Russia, and the peculiarity of their constitution is frequently of importance in order to a right understanding of Russian Ecclesiastical History, I have thought it worth while to extract a few notices respecting them from Oustreloff's History of Russia, 2nd edit., St. Petersburg, 1839.

The principality of Novogorod did not belong exclusively to any one branch of the family of Vladimir. The successors of Yaroslaff I., from having been engaged in continued contests in the South, partially lost sight of the North; and the citizens of Novogorod profited so well by these and other opportunities thus given them, as to establish their right of electing their own princes, and of limiting their authority, and making them swear to observe all their ancient privileges and rights; and if they found that the prince elected made any attempts to encroach on them or violate them, they immediately turned him out and chose another as his successor. But it is worth remarking, that they never selected one of their own citizens, but always a prince of the ruling family. There were few of these princes who reigned longer than three years: thirty were elected and dismissed in the course of a single century. During these constant changes the constitution of Novogorod was formed, and remained settled till the time of John III. The supreme power of enacting laws and deciding cases, either relating to their internal welfare or external relations, resided in the Vech or the council of the people, consisting of the citizens of Novogorod. They were assembled by the ringing of a bell, and at these meetings elected their prince, their Posadnik, (or lord mayor) their Vladika, Lord, or Archbishop, decided on questions of peace or war, tried criminals against the state, traitors, and those who held communication with an enemy. They examined the conduct of their prince and Posadnik, appointed punishments corresponding to the crimes they discovered, to the first banishment, to the second not unfrequently death: they also heard the complaints of the poor against the rich.

The right of deciding in civil affairs belonged exclusively to the prince, who was elected, as before mentioned, by the Vech. It was also his duty to take care that the peace of the state was not disturbed from within, nor violated from without; and to assist him in the performance of these duties he had his company or band, who in peace formed his court for trying causes, and his army in war. His revenue was derived from fixed fees or dues on trials, and certain other payments. In actual warfare he was the leader of their armies, but was obliged to consult the Posadnik as to the measures he adopted. In a word, the prince was only the judge and defender of the state, and if he failed to fulfil either of these duties, the Vech expelled him from his office.

The executive power was committed to the Posadnik, who was their first civil dignitary, and the president of their popular assemblies. He, in conjunction with their Chiliarch, commanded the regiments of Novogorod, conducted treaties, went on embassies, assisted the prince in managing his courts of justice, and in the event of his absence performed all his other duties. In a word, he was the instrument of fulfilling all the decisions of the Vech.

The authority of the ecclesiastical courts belonged to the Vladika or archbishop, who was elected by the Vech, and confirmed by the metropolitan of Kieff. Besides this, the Vladika enjoyed considerable authority in civil matters from his office of peace-maker: he was however bound to give an account of his conduct to the assembly of the people.

When Russia fell under the dominion of the Mongols, Novogorod, as well as Pskoff (which enjoyed the same form of government as Novogorod) were always given as a kind of appanage to the Great Prince appointed by the Khan, and it was this which in time gave him so great a preponderance over the appanaged princes as to enable him to unite them all under his sceptre. And when this title became hereditary in the descendants of John Kalita, both Novogorod and Pskoff acknowledged the Great Prince of Moscow as their protector. They however reserved to themselves the greater part of their popular privileges, and paid him tribute in token of subjection, and if ever the Great Prince on his succession to the throne hesitated to take an oath to observe all their rights, they compelled him to do it by threatening to put themselves under the protection of the Great Prince of Lithuania. John III., on his accession to the throne, adopted the same prudent policy as his predecessors; but when he became stronger, by having subjected all the appanaged princes to his sceptre, he took advantage of the first opportunity which occurred to reduce both Novogorod and Pskoff to subjection.

The Veeh under the presidency of their Posadnitsa, (lady mayoress, or rather absolute mayoress elected by the Veeh,) the celebrated Martha Boretska, a woman possessed of great wealth and ambition, attempted to throw off all subjection to John, and to negotiate an alliance with the king of Poland. On this John collected his army and met the insurgents near Novogorod to the number of 12,000, defeated them, took Martha's son prisoner and beheaded him, and did not deprive the city of its privileges, but pardoned the city on the payment of eighty pood—(3,200 pounds) of silver of fourteen ounces each—or £11,200 sterling, and placed a governor there who was invested with supreme authority, and by his means formed a party amongst the citizens. On the occasion of a second insurrection excited by Martha, John blockaded the city, and compelled it to surrender partly by the effects of famine, and partly by the strength of his own party within the walls. After this he deprived the city of all its privileges, and reduced it and all its dependencies to the same state of subjection as the rest of his dominions, January 15th, 1478.

P. 33, 15.—Mistislaff I., otherwise named Peter, son of Vladimir II., was born in Kieff A.D. 1076, ascended the throne after the death of his father A.D. 1125, and died there 1132, and was buried in the church of St. Theodore.

P. 33, 16.—Yaropolk II., son of Vladimir II., was born in Kieff A.D. 1082, ascended the throne after the death of his brother A.D. 1132, and died in Touroff, Feb. 18, A.D. 1139.

P. 33, 17.—Viacheslaff I., son of Vladimir II., was born in Kieff A.D. 1083, ascended the throne upon the death of his brother A.D. 1139, and after reigning twelve days, was dethroned by Vsevolod, son of Oleg, prince of Chernigoff, after whose reign, and that of his brother Igor, he partially recovered his rights, and died A.D. 1155.

P. 33, 18.—Vsevolod II., son of Oleg, and grandson of Sviatoslaff II., born A.D. 1094, seized on the throne A.D. 1139, and died July 31, A.D. 1146.

P. 34, 19.—"Dolgorouky," i. e. the long-armed. This appellation descended to another branch of the family, by whom it is still borne as a regular surname. Such particular designations, which we should now term nicknames, were at that period very common, and became the origin of many of the family names now to be met with in Russia. The terminations in 'off' and 'eff' denote descent or derivation. Only those families which are descended from some of the ancient princes have retained the names of their former possessions.

P. 35, 20.—Hilarion (A.D. 1051) was elected by the Russian synod without any reference to the patriarch; and Karamzin praises the wisdom shewed by Yaroslaff on that occasion, when there had been recently a war with the Greek empire, and Yaroslaff suspected that the emperors might use the ecclesiastical dependence of the Russian Church for political purposes, if the patriarchs were allowed to acquire a permanent right to confirm or nominate the metropolitans of Kieff. He at the same time regards the proceeding of the Russian synod as perfectly justifiable, and more canonical than the custom of honouring the patriarch with the power of either nominating or confirming. The author of a Dissertation "de Origine Christianæ Religionis in Russia," published at Rome in the year 1826, observes, that the mutual anathemas of the Pope and the Patriarch Cerularius cannot be reasonably said to have affected the intercommunion of the Russian Church with the Latin, seeing that the Russian Church had just before asserted its perfect independence of Constantinople on occasion of the election of Hilarion.

P. 35, 21.—The Metropolitan Platon, in his Church History, takes the same view of the subject with Karamzin and Oustreloff, and entirely differs from the opinion here expressed by our author. He states his own view of the subject, where he treats of the permanent establishment of the independent election and confirmation of the metropolitan of Moscow, which took place at a later period.

P. 35, 22.—Other accounts say this was actually done. The Greek Acts of the martyrdom of St. Clement in the Chersonese existed in the time of St. Gregory of Tours, but have been shewn to be apocryphal by Tillemont, Orsi, and others. Louis Le Debonnaire having in 872 founded the abbey of Cava, near Salerno, enriched it with the relics of St. Clement, which had been sent to him by Pope Adrian, and they are said to remain there to this day, some portions of them having been also retained in the church at Rome, which bears his name, and which is of the very highest antiquity. —*Bibl. Eccl. Vies des Saints*, 8vo., p. 569. and see above p. 14.

P. 36, 24.—Igor II., or David, son of Oleg, brother of Vsevolod II., was born in Kieff A.D. 1095, ascended the throne, according to the will of his brother, A.D. 1146, was expelled, after reigning only a fortnight, by

Isyaslaff, son of Mistislaff, and was compelled to receive the monastic tonsure in Kieff, where he was afterwards murdered during a riot A.D. 1148.

P. 36, 25.—Isyaslaff II., son of Mistislaff I., grandson of Monomachus, was born in Kieff A.D. 1096, ascended the throne A.D. 1146, was expelled from it the same year by his uncle Youry Dolgorouky, again ascended it in 1150, was again expelled from it A.D. 1152, reascended it, in conjunction with his uncle Viacheslaff A.D. 1155, and died the same year.

P. 36, 26.—Youry I. (George) son of Vladimir II., surnamed Dolgorouky, was born A.D. 1091. He mounted the throne of Kieff by force of arms the first time A.D. 1149, he was expelled from it by his nephew, Isyaslaff II., A.D. 1152, reascended it, and was again expelled in 1153, and finally returned A.D. 1155, after his nephew's death, and remained seated till his death, which took place A.D. 1157.

P. 36, 27.—Isyaslaff III., son of Igor II. (David), was born in Chernigoff A.D. 1110, ascended the throne A.D. 1157, was expelled A.D. 1158 by Rostislaff, ascended it again A.D. 1160, and was soon after killed in battle.

P. 37, 28.—Son of Isyaslaff II.

P. 38, 29.—The word Stauropegia is Greek, like most other ecclesiastical terms in the Russian language, and means a church or monastery where a cross has been fixed by the patriarch, or by his authority. The first act preparatory to the building of any church or chapel is the fixing of a cross in the ground on the spot intended to be occupied by the Holy Table; and this should properly be done by the bishop. The fixing of a cross in the name of the patriarch signified that he gave the church and monastery where this was done the privilege of being exempt from the diocesan authority, and depending immediately upon himself. So at the present day the Lavras of the Pechersky, and the Trinity, &c., are Stauropegias depending immediately upon the synod, which stands in the place of the former patriarchs.

P. 39, 30.—This letter appears in some MSS. of the Russian Kormchay or Nomocanon. It is also to be found in Greek and Slavonic, under No. XIV. in the Patriarchal Archives at Moscow; and Professor Matthæi has inserted it in his catalogue (No. 353). Herberstein, in his Commentaria (Francofurti, A.D. 1600, pp. 22—24,) has given an extract translated from this epistle into Latin with tolerable correctness. In the Russian this epistle is said to have been addressed to "Clement archbishop of Rome," but Alexander III. was the occupant of the Roman see at the period at which the letter was written. The pope had called upon the metropolitan to unite in communion with him, which the latter declines, and refers him to the patriarch of Constantinople, to whom he requests him to make a direct application.

"Dilexi decorem domine ac pater beatissime Apostolicâ sede ac vocatione

dignissime, quia ex remotis ad humilitatem et paupertatem nostram et alis dilectionis foves nos, et salutas nos sicuti tuos ex charitate, et interrogas specialiter de nostrâ fide verâ et orthodoxâ, de quâ etiam audiens, ut nobis beatitudinis tuæ Episcopus retulit, admiratus es. Et quia tantus es, et talis Sacerdos, propterea ego pauper saluto te, honorando caput tuum et deosculando manus tuas et brachia. Sis lætus, et a supremâ Dei manu protectus, et det Dominus omnipotens tibi, tuis spiritualibus, et nobis, ordinem bonum. Nescio unde exortæ sunt hæreses de verâ salutis et redemptionis viâ, et mirari satis non possum quis Diabolorum tam malus et invidus, tam veritati inimicus ac mutuæ benevolentiæ adversarius fuerit, qui paternam vestram charitatem a totâ Christianâ congregatione alienavit, dicens nos non esse Christianos. Nos profecto Christianos vos ex Dei benedictione ab initio cognovimus, licet in omnibus fidem Christianam non servetis, et in multis diversi sitis, id quod ex septem magnis Synodis ostendam, in quibus fides orthodoxa et Christiana instituta est ac prorsus confirmata, in quibus etiam tanquam septem columnis Sapientia Dei Domum sibi edificavit. In his præterea septem Synodis, omnes Papæ et digni sunt habiti Cathedrâ S. Petri, quia nobiscum sentiebant. In primâ autem Synodo erat Sylvester Papa, in secundâ Damasus, in tertiâ Cælestinus, in quartâ beatissimus Papa Leo, in quintâ Vigilius, in sextâ Agathon, vir honorandus et in sacris Scripturis doctus, in septimâ S. Papa Adrianus, qui misit primus Petrum Episcopum et Abbatem monasterii Sanctæ Sabæ; unde postea exortæ sunt dissensiones inter nos et vos, quæ pullulârunt præcipuè in antiquâ Româ. Sunt profecto mala multa, quæ a vobis contra leges divinas ac statuta committuntur: de quibus pauca ad charitatem tuam scribemus. Primùm de jejunio Sabbati contra legem observato; secundò de Jejunio Magno, in quo septimanam abscinditis, et carnes comeditis, ac propter carnium voracitatem homines ad vos allicitis. Item qui a presbyteris in baptismate inuncti sunt, illos vos jam denuo inungitis, dicentes illa simplicibus sacerdotibus facere non licere, sed solis Episcopis. Item de azymis malis, quæ manifestè Judaicum servitium seu cultum indicant. Et quod est caput omnium malorum, ut quæ confirmata sunt per SS. Synodos, ea vos cœpistis permutare et pervertere, dicentes de Spiritu Sancto quòd non tantùm a Patre sed et a Filio procedat; et multa alia majora, de quibus tua beatitudo ad Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum, fratrem suum spiritualem referre, et omnem diligentiam adhibere deberet, ut aliquando tollerentur isti errores, et ut unanimes essemus in concordiâ spirituali: sicut dicit Sanctus Paulus, informans nos; Oro vos, fratres, propter nomen Domini Jesu Christi, ut idem sentiatis et dicatis, et non sit inter vos discordia, et sitis in eodem intellectu fortificati, et in eâdem cogitatione. De istis sex excessibus, quantum potuimus, ad vos scripsimus; deinceps et de aliis scribemus charitati tuæ. Si enim ita res se habet sicuti audivimus, agnosces ipse nobiscum, transgredi vos Canones sanctorum Apostolorum et instituta magnarum septem Synodorum, in quibus erant omnes vestri primi Patriarchæ, et concorditer dicebant, quod verbum vestrum esset vanum. Et quod manifestè erretis, nunc palam redarguam."

And then, after having gone into the other five points, quoting
On the 1st, the 64th of the Apostolical Canons, as of Pope Clement;
On the 2nd, referring to the Canons of "the 6th Great Synod;"
On the 3rd, to two different Canons of the Synod of Gangra;
On the 4th, to the "One Baptism" of the Creed;
He terms the 5th "errorem præcipuum et radicem totius hæresis," and so proceeds with the 6th and last, as follows:

"Sextus denique error est, de Spiritu Sancto. Quomodo enim dicitis, 'Credo in Deum Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, Qui a Patre et Filio procedit?' Mirabile est profecto et horrendum dictu, quòd audetis fidem pervertere; cum ab initio per universum orbem, in omnibus Christianorum Ecclesiis constanter canatur, 'Credo in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum vivificantem et a Patre procedentem, Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et glorificatur;' quæ igitur vos non dicitis, sicuti alii Christiani omnes; sed additiones ponitis, et novam adducitis doctrinam; cum tamen Apostolus dicat, Si quis annunciaverit vobis, præter ea, quæ vobis diximus, Anathema sit. Utinam vos non incurratis istam maledictionem! Difficile est enim et horrendum, Dei scripturam, compositam per Sanctos, permutare et pervertere. Nescitis quam maximus sit error. Nam duas virtutes, duas voluntates, et duo principia de Sancto Spiritu adducitis, adimentes et parvi facientes ejus honorem, et hæresi Macedonianæ conformes estis; quod absit. Oro, et me inclino ad sanctos pedes tuos, ut ab hujusmodi erroribus, qui inter vos sunt, cesses, et maximè ab azymis abstineas. Volui etiam aliquid scribere de suffocatis et immundis animalibus et de monachis edentibus carnes: sed de his postea (si Deus voluerit) scribam. Parce autem propter maximam charitatem, quòd de his rebus ad te scripsi. An autem sunt facienda illa, quæ fiunt, interroga scripturas, et invenies. Rogo te, Domine, ut scribas ad Dominum nostrum Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum, et ad Sanctos Metropolitas, qui verbum vitæ in se habent, et sicut luminaria in mundo lucent. Fieri enim potest ut Deus per illos super hujusmodi erroribus inquirat, emendet, et constituat. Deinde, si tibi videbitur, mihi minimo inter alios omnes rescribas. Saluto te ego Metropolita Russiæ, et alios omnes tibi subjectos clericos et laicos. Salutant etiam te mecum sancti Episcopi, Monachi, et Reges, et magni homines. Charitas Spiritûs Sancti sit tecum, et cum omnibus tuis. Amen!"

P. 39, 31.—This change of names, which was usual not only on first becoming a monk, but also on taking the schema, if not borne in mind, may often give rise to perplexity and misunderstanding in reading Russian history.

P. 39, 32.—This was a merely titular promotion, as the new archbishop had no bishops under him: in fact, under whatever name, Russia seems never to have had more than one archiepiscopal province; but the first bishop depending immediately upon a patriarch, it seemed to be fit, and agreeable to analogy, that he should be metropolitan, at least in name; and this being so before the erection of the other sees, and there being no express provision from the beginning for the erection of archbishopries, his nominal

title of metropolitan suggested afterwards the idea of conferring the nominal dignity of archbishop on the chief of his suffragans; as afterwards we find the nominal dignity of metropolitan also given to others, when the original metropolitan was raised to the patriarchal dignity.

Some MSS. of the Russian Kormchay contain a canonical writing, apparently by this Archbishop John of Novogorod,—consisting of answers to a number of questions on which he had been consulted by a certain priest or monk named James. The Rubric or table of contents is inserted in the work of Herberstein above referred to with tolerable accuracy: among the more remarkable heads are the following. "Pueri in necessitate absque sacerdote baptizentur." "Rhuteni cum Romanis in necessitate comedant, celebrent autem minimè." "Rhuteni omnes Romanos non rectè baptizatos, qui in aquam toti non sunt immersi, ad veram fidem convertant; quibus conversis non statim Eucharistia, sicuti nec Tartaris aliisve a fide suâ diversis, porrigatur." "Principis filia ei, qui Communione in azymis et cibis utitur immundis, non in matrimonium locetur." "*Non confessi*, et aliena bona non reddentes ad communionem non admittantur." "Sciens cum Romanis comedens orationibus mundis mundetur." "Mercatores et peregrini ad Romanorum partes proficiscentes communione priventur; sed ad eandem injunctis quibusdam pro pœnitentiâ orationibus reconciliati admittantur." The document from which the above headings are given cannot be later, in the late Baron Rosenkampf's judgment, than the 12th century; and he would rather attribute it to John of Novogorod, who is referred to by the Chronicle of Nikon under the year 1008, and who died A.D. 1035. He says it *cannot* be later than the 12th century, and indeed it is *followed* in the same MS. Kormchay by a set of similar answers from St. Niphont, who died A.D. 1156; but if the title of Archbishop be rightly given in it to John (though he is called also Metropolitan, which must be an error, and an error by the way which only makes our supposition the more probable) it cannot be earlier than the time of that John who is the subject of the present note.

P. 39, 33.—Rostislaff I., son of Mistislaff, born A.D. 1119, ascended the throne for the first time together with his uncle Viacheslaff, A.D. 1155, but was soon expelled by Isyaslaff. He ascended it again A.D. 1158, and was again expelled by the same prince, and after his death regained it for the third time, A.D. 1161, and kept it till his own death in 1168.

P. 39, 34.—Mistislaff II., son of Isyaslaff III., ascended the throne A.D. 1168, was expelled A.D. 1170, by Andrew son of Youry, and died in 1171.

Gleb, son of Youry, ascended the throne A.D. 1170, and died in Kieff A.D. 1172.

Vladimir III., son of Mistislaff, ascended the throne A.D. 1172, and died A.D. 1173.

Romanus I., son of Rostislaff, ascended the throne A.D. 1173, quitted it in August in 1174, reascended it A.D. 1176, was compelled to quit it A.D. 1177, and died at Smolensk A.D. 1180.

Sviatoslaff, son of Vsevolod, ascended the throne of Kieff A.D. 1177, and died A.D. 1194.

Ruric II., son of Rostislaff, ascended the throne of Kieff in 1177, and was expelled the same year; reascended it in 1178, and was again expelled in 1201; he twice again experienced a repetition of the same change of fortune, when at length in 1203 he was compelled to take the monastic vows; after the death of his conqueror Romanus, he threw off the habit of a monk, and resumed the throne in 1206; was again expelled, returned in 1208, retired, and again returned, and was finally expelled A.D. 1211, and died A.D. 1215.

Vsevolod III., son of Sviatoslaff, ascended the throne of Kieff for the first time A.D. 1206, for the second time A.D. 1208, for the third time A.D. 1211, and was finally expelled A.D. 1214.

P. 42, 35.—Meinhardt, a priest of the Augustinian order, had come from the bishop of Bremen in 1186 to be the first preacher of Christianity in Livonia, and was followed by Albert Buxhevden and his Sword-bearers just at the end of the 12th century. Albert received the title of Bishop of Livonia from the pope, built Riga, and permanently established the Germans on the Dwina. He established with the sanction of the pope, in 1201, his order by the title of the Brethren of the Cross of the Lord. The pope gave this order the Rule of the Templars, a white mantle, and red cross, with the lordship of all the lands they should conquer, so as to depend however themselves upon the bishops of Livonia. In about thirty years they had succeeded in reducing the greater part of Livonia, but finding themselves too weak to undertake much more, they in 1237 with the pope's consent united themselves to the Teutonic order established in Prussia, retaining however their former constitution, officers, and bishops (who were nominated by the grand master of the Teutonic order) and only gaining a great accession of strength from so powerful an alliance or union. At the end of the 13th century dissensions broke out between the bishops and the knights about the sovereignty of the conquered territories. The order was ultimately reduced by John IV.—*Oustreloff*, vol. ii.

P. 42, 36.—Mistislaff III., son of Romanus, ascended the throne of Kieff A.D. 1214, and died soon after the bloody battle on the Kalka, which took place May 1, A.D. 1224.

P. 43, 37.—Vladimir IV., son of Ruric II., ascended the throne of Kieff A.D. 1224, and was betrayed and delivered up to the Poloftsi in 1235. From this period till the sacking of Kieff by the Mongols, there appear to have been many pretenders to the throne of the Great Princedom rapidly succeeding each other, whose names it is useless to mention.

P. 43, 38.—George, i. e. of Vladimir, at that time the Great Prince.

P. 43, 39.—Platon remarks on the complete success of the Tartar invasion, that such an event was to be expected, as since the death of Vladimir (that is, for more than two hundred years previously to the event) civil dissensions and wars had raged with scarcely any interruption throughout the whole of the country; and the cause of this was that there was no central govern-

ment sufficiently strong to restrain the several petty princes from contending with each other. For although the Great Prince of Kieff, and afterwards of Vladimir, was nominally the head of the other Russian princes, his authority was not sufficiently established to make the others submit themselves to him: on the contrary they paid the greatest respect to him who happened to be the most powerful; and each in his turn strove to attain to this eminence. It may probably have been from a traditional recollection of the miseries their country suffered under the appanaged princes, that the Russians became afterwards so attached to an absolute monarchy.

CHAP. IV.

P. 45, 1.—Yaroslaff II. son of Vsevolod, was born A.D. 1191, received the title of Great Prince from Batius, A.D. 1238, died September 30, A.D. 1246, and was buried in Vladimir.

Isyaslaff, (Michael) son of Yaroslaff II., was born in Vladimir A.D. 1229, ascended the throne A.D. 1248, and was killed in an engagement with the Lithuanians the same year.

Andrew II., son of Yaroslaff II., was born A.D. 1223, ascended the throne A.D. 1249, was expelled by order of the Khan, A.D. 1252, and died A.D. 1278.

P. 47, 2.—The ancient bishopric of Sarai, situated on the Volga, where Saratoff now stands, was afterwards transferred to the steep hills near Moscow called Kroutits; and from that time the bishop was generally the assistant or vicar of the metropolitan or patriarch; but he had also a diocese of his own, which is now comprehended in that of Kalouga and Borofsk (re-erected, in 1799.)—*Platon.*

P. 47, 3.—On the death of Genghis Khan, the Tartars in four separate divisions invaded Corea, China, India, and Eastern Europe. Batius at the head of 500,000 men reduced Russia, and established the head quarters of the Golden Horde at Sarai, 60 versts from the mouth of the Volga; the Great Khan himself, the supreme head of all the Tartars, residing at Karkoroum, in the depth of Asia, between the Orchon and the Temir. Usbek Khan, who began to rule the Golden Horde in 1313, and ruled thirty years, caused it to embrace Mahometanism: but this change did not bring with it any great fanaticism to propagate their new religion.

P. 47, 4.—Alexander I. surnamed Nefsky, from his victory over the Swedes in 1241 on the banks of the Neva, was born in Novogorod May 30, A.D. 1221, ascended his brother's throne A.D. 1252, and died November 10, 1263. The Church reckons him as one of her saints, and a festival has been instituted in his honour, as well as an order of knighthood; and he has a magnificent tomb in the new capital of St. Petersburgh.

Yaroslaff III., son of Yaroslaff II., was born in 1230, succeeded to his brother's throne A.D. 1263, and died A.D. 1271.

Basil I., youngest son of Yaroslaff II., was appointed by the Khan to be

his brother's successor. He ascended the throne A.D. 1271, and died A.D. 1276.

The Metropolitan Cyrill II. finding himself without any perfect copy of the Nomocanon in the Slavonic tongue after the ruin of Vladimir by the Tartars, applied to Sviatoslaff a prince or "despot" of Russian descent in Bulgaria, and received from him a copy of "The Book Zonar" made from the Slavonic Kormchay of the Bulgarian primate, who at that time bore the title of Patriarch. This copy contained a preface with the reasons which had induced the four patriarchs to excommunicate the Roman pope, and also with those which had induced the Bulgarian Church, shortly after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, to declare its own separate independence, and to elect its own metropolitan with the title of Patriarch, who should be totally independent of the patriarch of Constantinople, though in other respects they remained as before united with him and with the other three patriarchs. This is the first notice we have of the introduction of any translation of the Photian Nomocanon into Russia; and from this copy sent to Cyrill many others were made, and received additions consisting of various Russian canonical writings. The oldest MS. of this *Zonarian* Kormchay known to be extant, was written at Novogorod between 1276 and 1294. It seems probable that one or more copies of a translation of the Photian Nomocanon with the Scholia of *Aristin* came also into Russia about the same time, either from Bulgaria or from Mount Athos, as there is a family of such MS. Kormchays, some of which are as old as the end of the 13th century: and these though less in use than the Zonarian, and rarely containing many additions of Russian documents, yet were chiefly followed in printing the Kormchay in the time of Nikon. And from them probably may have been derived several peculiarities which are observable in various MSS. of the Zonarian family, such as that of not giving all the canons at length, or of substituting the Scholia of Aristin for those of Zonar, as is the case in the oldest extant MS. of the Cyrillic or Zonarian family.

When Cyrill held his council in the year 1274, the Russian sees had been reduced from 18 to 5 by the destructive invasion of the Tartars.—*From MS. of Baron Rosenkampf.*

P. 49, 5.—John Bekkus, who had joined himself to the communion of the pope, and who assisted at the Council of Lyons in 1274, was made patriarch in the room of Joseph the 26th of May A.D. 1275, and sat till the 26th of December A.D. 1282, when he was obliged to abdicate, under Andronicus.

P. 49, 6.—Joseph, who, first became patriarch in 1267, was forced from his chair in January A.D. 1274, because he was opposed to the union to be treated of in the Council of Lyons. But the Emperor Michael dying the 11th of December A.D. 1282, his son Andronicus restored Joseph.

P. 49, 7.—"Legotnaya Grammata," are a document by which a sovereign grants his subjects an immunity from certain taxes for a specified time.

P. 50, 8.—Demetrius I., son of Alexander Nefsky, was born at Vladimir A.D. 1250, ascended the throne A.D. 1276, was expelled from it by his brother Andrew, reascended it A.D. 1291, was again expelled A.D. 1294, and died in the same year at Volokolampsk.

Andrew III., son of Alexander Nefsky, ascended the throne of Vladimir A.D. 1294, and died after having assumed the habit of a monk A.D. 1304.

P. 51, 9.—Michael III., son of Yaroslaff III., born A.D. 1272, was raised to the throne of Great Prince by letters patent of the Khan A.D. 1305, and was killed in the Horde A.D. 1319.

P. 51, 10.—Demetrius II., son of Michael III., was raised to the throne of Vladimir by the Khan A.D. 1322, and was slain by his order for the murder of Youry III. A.D. 1326.

P. 51, 11.—Youry III., otherwise George, son of Daniel, was born in Moscow A.D. 1281, was raised to the throne by the Khan A.D. 1320, dethroned in 1322, and murdered by Demetrius A.D. 1326.

P. 51, 12.—Alexander II., son of Michael III., was raised to the throne by the Khan A.D. 1326, and deposed by the same Khan A.D. 1327, for having slain Shefkal and his followers, who were attempting to introduce Mahometanism into Tver: he was pardoned this crime A.D. 1336, admitted to the Horde, but suffered death there A.D. 1338, through a false accusation.

P. 51, 13.—So called because he was always accompanied by a servant who carried his purse, or "Kalita," for the relief of the poor who applied to him.

P. 53, 14.—The word is in the original "Sobórnuyou," signifying collective or collegiate, and is here translated by our word Catholic, because it is the word by which the first apostles of the Slavonian nations rendered the word Καθολικὴν of the Greek Creed. It is still the word in the Creed, and the ordinary word in use, whenever we should use the term Catholic. The Greek word, pronounced and written Ca*ph*olic, is also frequently used in the same sense as the Sobórnuyou of the Creed, to designate the Eastern and Russian Communion; while if spelt or pronounced after the German manner, Ca*tt*olic, it applies to the Western or Latin Church.

P. 53, 15.—In 1255 the Tartars made a general census of all the lands and population of Russia, for the purpose of imposing a capitation tax. This was doubled to those of the peasantry who persevered in the faith of their ancestors, and they were enrolled under the name of "Christians;" which name, it may be remarked, is the most common term by which the Russian peasant is even now designated. The clergy were exempted from this taxation.

P. 55, 16.—The word "Sobor" means a collection, assembly, college, or council; "Sobornaya Tserkóv," if used of the Church at large, is the Collective or Catholic Church. When used of a particular building, Sobornaya Tserkóv (or simply the substantive Sobor), designates a church where there is a settled company or college of priests, as there is in towns at many churches which do not at all answer to our title of cathedrals: the chief Sobors alone, which are especially connected with the pontifical office, can properly be called cathedrals. There is a word formed from the same root, "Soborovanie," used to denote the Unction of the Sick with Prayer, that is, "the anointing by a collection or assembly of priests." For this rite, if performed at full, should properly be administered by a meeting of seven priests, though in case of necessity a smaller number or even one will suffice. For this they quote the words of the Apostle, "Let him send for the priests," not "for a priest." The writer of the Travels of Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, observes that in Russia at all the chief Sobors, (i. e. cathedrals properly so called) "there are always exactly seven priests and seven deacons, neither more nor less."

CHAP. V.

P. 57, 1.—John I., surnamed Kalita, son of Daniel, was born in Moscow A.D. 1300, was raised to the throne of *Great Prince of Moscow and All Russia*, by letters of the Khan dated March the 26th, A.D. 1327, died March 31, A.D. 1340, after having put on the monastic habit, and was buried in Moscow, in the cathedral of the Archangel.

P. 58, 2.—Pskoff had formerly been subject to the bishop of Novogorod; and the metropolitan supported the dignity of his character, when he on this occasion refused to consecrate a separate bishop for Pskoff, that it might be thus rendered independent of Novogorod, to suit the interests of the heathen prince Hedimine, or the will of its own citizens, who had no power to elect as to a new see, unless a new see had first been canonically erected.

P. 58, 3.—A white klobóuk, or cowl, is now the distinguishing mark of all prelates who bear the title of Metropolitan in Russia, as those of St. Petersburgh, Moscow, Kieff, and Kazan.

P. 58, 4.—The "white" are the secular, the "black" the regular or monastic clergy. The bishops are always taken from the black; but any priest who belonged originally to the white clergy may, if his wife be dead or have retired into a convent, become a monk (that is, a member of the black or regular clergy), and so afterwards rise to be a bishop. The monks do, in fact, always wear their gowns and cassocks and mantles black, but the white clergy do not wear white gowns and cassocks, but any other colour which suits their taste or convenience, except black.

P. 59, 5.—Simeon, surnamed the Proud, son of John Kalita, was born in Moscow, was raised by the Khan to the throne of Moscow and All

Russia A.D. 1341, and died of the plague April 26, A.D. 1352, having first assumed the monastic habit.

P. 60, 6.—Platon speaks of this appointment as being altogether irregular; firstly, because Theodoret was not duly elected; secondly, because Theognostes was still alive; thirdly, because this *soi-disant* patriarch was never acknowledged as such by either of the Churches of Greece or Russia. His proper title seems to have been Archbishop or Metropolitan of Tirnoff.

P. 60, 7.—Platon says that she had become blind from some complaint in the eyes.

P. 60, 8.—The word in the original is "Wonder-worker" or "Thaumaturge."

P. 61, 9.—The word in the original is "Hossoudarstvo," and signifies lordship, or sovereignty, and is still the word most commonly used. The Great Princes were equally Hossoudars with the later Tsars, and the present Emperors. The word Tsar is the proper Slavonic and Russian word for *king*, but is opposed to the Polish *korol*, also king, much as the Russian Ca*ph*olic is opposed to the German Ca*tt*olic. Tsar is used for the Roman and Greek Emperors indifferently with their own word Imperator.

P. 61, 10.—Demetrius III., son of Constantine, was born A.D. 1332, raised to the throne of Great Prince of Moscow and All Russia by letters of the Khan A.D. 1359, and dethroned by him A.D. 1362. He died, after having assumed the monastic habit, A.D. 1384.

P. 61, 11.—John II., surnamed the Handsome, third son of John Kalita, was born in Moscow A.D. 1325, was raised to the throne of Great Prince of Moscow and All Russia by the letters of the Khan A.D. 1353, and died, after having assumed the monastic habit, A.D. 1358.

By the help of the Metropolitan Alexis, the Great Prince of Moscow began to reduce the other appanaged princes under his authority. Platon ascribes the conduct of Alexis to an enlightened policy, which, clearly perceiving that all the miseries of his country proceeded from the exercise of independent authority by so many princes, wished to terminate them by enlarging the powers of the Great Prince, and subjecting the others to him.

P. 62, 12.—This monastery continues to the present day to be the richest and most celebrated of all the religious houses in Russia. It is said to have possessed at one time 106,000 male peasants or serfs, with the land to which they were attached. It withstood the attacks of a Polish army of 30,000 men for 16 months. It is surrounded by a wall 1500 yards in length, and flanked by eight towers. Amongst other curiosities it has a belfry 290 feet high, in which there is a bell weighing 144,000 pounds. All the moveable treasures of Moscow were placed here for security during the invasion of the French in 1812. The monastery is governed by an archimandrite, who

is at present the celebrated Philaret, the learned metropolitan of Moscow, from which it is distant about 60 versts.

P. 62, 13.—The battle was fought on the 8th of September A.D. 1380, and tradition reports that 200,000 bodies were left upon the field. Mamai himself was shortly after murdered at Kaffa, whither he had fled: but Russia being left exhausted by the effort, was unable to resist the Horde of Toktamuish, which burst upon her two years afterwards from central Asia, and sacked Moscow; upon which Demetrius was obliged to make his submission.

P. 63, 14.—These monks had formerly been soldiers, and had quitted the military for the monastic life; and may probably have been White brethren, such as are not uncommon at the present day. The disabled and worn-out veteran often flies from his village to the neighbouring monastery, to spend the remainder of his days in penitence and peace.

P. 63, 15.—That is, on the spot where now stands the church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin in the faubourg called "The old Simonoff." The bodies of Peresvet and Osliab are still preserved in this church, which is only at a short distance from the present monastery, about five versts south of Moscow.

P. 63, 16.—The "cells" or apartments of the metropolitan are in this monastery, which has been rebuilt since the French invasion of 1812. It is situated near the Spassky gates, not far from the cathedral of the Assumption and the Palace, in the Kremlin.

P. 63, 17.—"Panagia." An image or picture of the Holy Virgin worn by bishops, suspended from their neck by a chain of gold.

P. 64, 18.—Platon says he entered the palace of the deceased metropolitan, put on his mantle and klobóuk, and took forcible possession of all his establishment and revenues; and acted in all respects as if he had been actually appointed, except that he did not officiate as metropolitan in the Church; and this continued for a year and a half.

P. 64, 19.—Platon says that Dionysius promised he would not go to Constantinople to be appointed metropolitan, and that St. Sergius became surety for his keeping his word.

P. 65, 20.—On that occasion all the Russian princes united themselves, according to the principle of the appanage system, under the Great Prince, and advanced to meet the Mongols on the banks of the Don, in order to prevent their uniting themselves with the Lithuanians under their prince Yagello.

P. 65, 21.—Platon says, that the Great Prince, who seems to have

favoured Mitai's pretensions, gave him on his departure for Constantinople his signature on a blank sheet of paper, by which he authorized him to borrow as much money as he might require, and bound himself to repay it. Pimen and the boyars having discovered the blank signature of the prince, turned it to their own purpose, and wrote on it a forged letter from him to the patriarch, recommending Pimen as metropolitan of Russia, and desiring that he might be consecrated. But the emperor and the patriarch replied, that as there was already one metropolitan appointed, namely Cyprian, whom they were willing to confirm, they did not choose, without a very urgent necessity, to ordain another. On this, Pimen and the boyars who had engaged in the design borrowed a large sum, which with interest amounted to 20,000 roubles (£17,000 sterling,) and employed it so well, that both the emperor's and patriarch's objections were removed, and Pimen was ordained metropolitan.

Platon does not scruple to speak of this appointment as an act of simony on the part of the patriarch, and says that this and similar transactions made it necessary that the Russian Church should become independent of Constantinople, and appoint her metropolitan according to the canons by the synod of her own bishops.

P. 65, 21. β.—Demetrius IV., Donskoy, son of John II., born at Moscow A.D. 1350, obtained the throne of All Russia A.D. 1362, died May 19, A.D. 1388, and was buried in Moscow in the church of the Archangel.

N.B. This is the first Great Prince who is not said to have been appointed by letters from the Khan since their invasion and conquest of Russia.

P. 65, 21. γ.—The sect of the Strigolniks first appeared A.D. 1371. Its founders were one Karp (from whose craft the sect derived its name) and a deacon named Nicetas. They taught first in Pskoff, and from thence went to Novogorod, where they had great success. They railed at and rejected the clergy, for disorders which they alleged against it, not only at Novogorod, but throughout the whole Church. They denied the necessity of confession, saying it was enough to confess to God and to prostrate one's self upon the ground: and indeed as they rejected the clergy, they had none among them with power to bind or loose, nor any teachers really sent or ordained. They pretended, according to their interpretation, that St. Paul gave power to any one, even to laymen, to teach, and they elected their own teachers from among themselves: instead of the episcopal ordination they instituted a call from their own society. They denied that the clergy could impart the grace of the Holy Ghost to the members of the Church, while yet they claimed the power of imparting such grace for each one of the members of their own society. As they refused the Baptism and Communion of the priests of the Church, they had to make those sacraments to themselves (if indeed they did so at all) through unordained persons; and probably grounded themselves on those rights of spiritual priesthood with which all Christians are invested. Rejecting the offering of oblations for the dead, as an invention of clerical covetousness, they rejected in fact the force and

efficacy of all the customary acts of piety or affection for the benefit of the departed. They said, "It is not proper to sing over the dead, nor to make commemorations, nor to celebrate service for them, nor to bring oblations for the dead into the church, nor to give away victuals or alms for the soul of the deceased." All which pretended purity in religion is to be referred to their attack upon the clergy. The Deacon Nicetas was degraded, and his partizans excommunicated; but the sect still continued to spread. Karp was thrown into the Volkoff by the populace at Novogorod.—*From the work of Nicholas Roundeff.*

P. 69, 22.—The Troitza (i. e. Trinity) Monastery, is situated 64 versts or about 43 miles to the north-east of Moscow.

P. 69, 23.—The reader may refer to Gibbon's Hist. of the Decline and Fall, &c. ch. 65. A.D. 1390—1396.

P. 69, 24.—The infidel historian, after sneering at the thought of the Russians that they might obtain help against the enemy by a public act of religion, which, with whatever mixture, contained an appeal to God by faith in the sign given to Ahaz, and for the sake of her who was the type at least of that daughter of Jerusalem, who laughed to scorn the armies of Sennacherib, observes, that Toktamuish made "a casual and voluntary retreat," being recalled by "ambition and prudence" to the South.—*Gibbon's Hist.* ch. 65. A.D. 1390—1396.

P. 69, 25.—This monastery was rebuilt in 1721, by Peter the Great.

P. 69, 26.—This is now a monastery of the first class, or rather two monasteries in one, the one called the Great, the other the Ivanofsky, or the Lesser. It is surrounded by two strong walls flanked by large and lofty towers: between the first and second wall is the Great monastery, with nine churches built of stone, within the second is the Lesser monastery. Its vestry exceeds perhaps in the richness of the dresses it contains that of any other monastery in the empire. It has also an armoury; and on the towers of the outer wall fifty pieces of artillery are mounted.

P. 70, 27.—The Solovetsky monastery is built on one of a cluster of islands to the north of the bay of Onega, in the White sea. It has attained such a celebrity, that it is even now visited during the summer by crowds of pilgrims. It is inaccessible during nearly eight months in the year from the floating ice with which it is surrounded.

P. 70, 28.—The Choudes, or Tchoudes, are the same as the Finns.

P. 70, 29.—The Lopars are the same as the Laplanders.

Platon relates, that in 1398 the Greek Emperor Manuel and the patriarch sent to beg for assistance from the Russian princes against the Turks. The clergy sent them 20,000 roubles, (£17,000,) which was

received with gratitude, and many miraculous images and relics of saints were sent them in return.

P. 72, 30.—Vitold, Great Prince of Lithuania, had been completely defeated by Edigée on the banks of the Vorskla. Edigée besieged Moscow A.D. 1408, and menaced Russia not long after with a second invasion, when Basil made his submission, and even went to the Horde, which however from that time was so torn by internal feuds as to leave him in security.

P. 74, 31.—Basil II., son of Demetrius Donskoy, was born in Moscow A.D. 1372, inherited the throne at his father's death, and was crowned in Vladimir with the crown of Tsar, but did not take the title. His right to the crown was, however, confirmed by letters of the Khan Tocktamuish. He died February 27th, A.D. 1425, and was buried in the church of the Archangel at Moscow.

P. 76, 32.—Platon remarks that "the pope, the most artful of men, seeing that Russia was the most powerful country which professed the Greek faith, persuaded Isidore, whose sentiments he knew, to get himself consecrated and sent as metropolitan to Moscow, that he might assist at the council about to be held at Florence in subjecting both the Greek and Russian Churches to his Holiness's slippers;" and that Isidore consequently got himself to be consecrated at Constantinople with the express intention of betraying the interests of the Church he had engaged to govern.

P. 77, 33.—Of which the most important consisted of the following confession: "In the name of the Holy Trinity, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. We Latins and Greeks agree in the Holy Union of these two Churches, and confess that all true Christians ought to receive this genuine doctrine. That the Holy Spirit is eternally of the Father and the Son, and that from all eternity It (He) proceeds from the One and the Other as from a single principle, and by a single production, which we call '*spiration*.' We also declare that what some of the Holy Fathers have said, viz., that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, should be taken in such manner as to signify that the Son as well as the Father, and conjointly with Him, is the principle of the Holy Spirit; and since whatsoever the Father hath, that He communicates to His Son, excepting the paternity, which distinguishes Him from the Son and the Holy Spirit,—so is it from the Father that the Son has received from all eternity that productive virtue, through which the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father."—*Waddington's Hist. of the Church*, chap. 26, p. 623.

P. 77, 34.—On this council, and the cause of it, Platon remarks, that the Greek emperor was in the wrong to apply for assistance to the pope, who had always been the sworn enemy of his religion, and would only have helped him if it could have promoted his own selfish ends; that he ought rather to have reformed his government and life, and turned together with

his people to God, whose mercy would have been of more service to him than the pope and all the powers of the world.

P. 78, 35.—See Pearson on the Creed, on the article of the belief in the Holy Ghost, and the notes on the same subject at the end; in which he gives a compendious view of the whole question.

P. 79, 36.—One of the seven episcopal robes, which is placed on the shoulders; it has four crosses worked on it. The omophorium is an emblem of the lost sheep, that is, of human nature, which Christ, when He has found, places on His shoulders; the crosses worked on it intimate to the prelate that it is his duty to follow his Lord in His sufferings; the taking the children on the omophorium implied that he pledged his holy office as bishop for their safety.

P. 80, 37.—See above, p. 367, the notes on p. 35. 20 and 21.

P. 80, 38.—See above, at p. 359, the note on p. 17, 24; also at p. 363, the note on p. 28, 5. and at p. 370, the note on p. 47, 4.

P. 83, 41.—Perhaps the seniority here mentioned may have been derived from the permission given by the patriarch of Constantinople to the then bishop of Rostoff to reside at Vladimir, which afterwards became the seat of the metropolitan. This may have given it a temporary seniority over Novogorod, which otherwise, both before and after this period, has always been reckoned next to Moscow. See pp. 37 and 41.

P. 84, 42.—A town of the Crimea, with an excellent harbour, on the Black sea, 150 miles to the north-east of Constantinople.

P. 84, 43.—Immediately after his marriage John assumed the arms of the Greek empire, the two-headed eagle, which the sovereigns of Russia still retain.

P. 85, 44.—This Aristotle of Bologna, who is said by Platon to have understood the art of casting bells and cannon, and coining money, as well as his own proper business of architect, received only ten roubles, (about £7) a month, as his reward for the exercise of all these accomplishments.

P. 85, 45.—A "Pridyéall" is an "affixed" altar-chapel, or sanctuary, considered as a separate church; though opening by its royal and side doors into the body of the same church with the principal sanctuary. Sometimes the side chapel on the north of the sanctuary, which is the proper place for the altar or table of preparation or prothesis with its accompanying stand, (from whence the priest takes the elements to make the preparation) is called by this name. The word "altar" in the Russian Church designates the whole of the raised area of the sanctuary.

P. 87, 46.—When the three names were placed on the altar, the son of

the prince, then a mere boy, took two of them away, and the third which remained was that of the future Vladika, or Lord.

P. 87, 47.—St. Nicholas of Myra in Lycia; the festival of the translation of whose relics to Bari in Italy, in the year 1087, was instituted by Urban II. (who was elected pope the year after the translation itself had taken place.) It is remarkable that this festival was adopted by the metropolitans of Kieff and by the Russian Church, and is still marked in their calendar on the 9th of May, though it has never been received by the Greeks.

P. 90, 48.—See above the note on p. 65, 21. γ. at p. 375. The Strigolniks do not seem to have had any thing at all in common with the judaical notions of the sect which is here spoken of as springing up a full century after them, though it is true that in their hatred of the clergy and in some of the arguments they employed to overthrow their authority, the judaizing heresy seems to have followed closely in the steps of the Strigolniks, and even to have borrowed from them.

P. 90, 49.—"Secretary" or clerk. The word 'diak' answers exactly to that of clerk, as used in the middle ages in the West; the profession of letters belonging entirely to the clergy and their dependents.

P. 92, 50.—The Sons of the Boyars were a kind of provincial cavalry or esquires, who served in all military expeditions with the boyars to whom they were attached, as their body guard, in the same manner as the boyars themselves formed the retinue of the princes.

P. 94, 51.—Or "bishops of Kroutits;" though they were still not unfrequently called by their former title of Sarai and Podonsk.

John III., son of Basil III., was born in Moscow A.D. 1435, and was nominated to be Great Prince by his father, on whose decease, A.D. 1462, he ascended the throne: he died Oct. 27th, A.D. 1506, and was buried in the church of the Archangel in Moscow; he was by some styled Tsar, but not uniformly so.

According to the short History of Russia by Talouzin, John III. died the 27th of March, A.D. 1506; but Mouravieff and Oustreloff place it a year earlier, A.D. 1505. Platon gives him the following character. "This monarch was ambitious and severe, but at the same time prudent in his measures, and a skilful politician. He was zealous for the promotion of religion, built many churches and monasteries, eradicated heresies, and protected the Orthodox in Poland from the persecutions of the papists; by which means he attached many of her princes to Russia. He was the first Russian monarch who entirely threw off the Tartar yoke; and he even appointed himself the Tartar Tsars of Kazan. He also reduced nearly all the separate principalities under his authority, and thus laid the foundation of the future greatness of the Russian empire."

P. 96, 52.—In the year 1505 a council had been held in Moscow to

condemn the new heresy that had sprung up, and which has been above spoken of as adopting in some points the tenets of the Strigolniks, though its leading feature was rather that of a disposition to inculcate judaical tenets and practices. It did not indeed preach circumcision, but it rejected in reality all the doctrines of Christianity. Many were found guilty, and according to some accounts delivered over to the civil arm, and burned as heretics. This Platon condemns as being altogether abhorrent from the spirit of Christianity. He says they ought to have been banished and removed from the society of other men, that they might not infect them with their opinions. He says also that these severe measures are not to be attributed to the clergy, but to the civil authorities, who he intimates may have had other reasons for proceeding to such extremities.

P. 97, 53.—Platon says that formerly every monk prepared his own food, and clothed himself; but Macarius ordered that they should have a common table and a uniform dress. He reformed a still greater irregularity in the nunneries, which had before been ruled by hegumens or priors, and had had poor brethren for the performance of menial offices: he entirely expelled the latter, and replaced the hegumens by prioresses.

P. 98, 54.—The monastery of the Assumption called Otroch, (the word signifies boy or page,) because it was built by Gregory page of Yaroslaff of Tver A.D. 1266.

P. 99, 55.—This act of placing the child on the tomb of St. Sergius by way of placing him under the special protection of the saint, would naturally suggest itself as significative of such an idea by association with the similar act of placing children upon the altar at the churching of their mothers, which was, and still is, of every-day occurrence in the Church.

P. 99, 56.—Basil IV., son of John III., was born in Moscow, August 25, A.D. 1479, was declared heir to the throne and crowned with the crown of Great Prince April 14, A.D. 1502, succeeded to it on the death of his father October 28, A.D. 1506, and was the first who assumed the titles of Tsar and Autocrat of All the Russias. He died in Moscow, having first put on the monastic habit under the name of Barlaam, December 4, A.D. 1534, and was buried in the church of the Archangel.

N.B. This prince is sometimes called Basil III. by those who reckon only the Moscow dynasty: on looking back the reader will find that Basil I. reigned in Vladimir from 1271 to 1276, and Basil II. and III., father and son, reigned in Moscow from 1389 to 1462.

In a Latin letter which he wrote to Pope Clement VII., dated in April A.D. 1525, he thus enumerates his own titles:—Clementi Papæ, Pastori ac Doctori Romanæ Ecclesiæ,—Magnus Dux Basilius, Dei Gratiâ Imperator (rendered in the Russian 'Tsar') ac Dominator totius Russiæ, nec non Magnus Dux Voldomeriæ, Moscoviæ, Novogradiæ, Plescoviæ, Smolensciæ, Iberiæ, Jugoriæ, Permiæ, Viatkiæ, Bulgariæ, et cæt. Dominator et Magnus Princeps Novogorodiæ Inferioris Terræ, Cernigoviæ, Rasaniæ,

Volothiæ, Rzeviæ, Belchiæ, Rostoviæ, Jaroslaviæ, Belozeriæ, Udoriæ, Obdoriæ, Condiniæque.

Pope Gregory XIII. writing to John the son of Basil A.D. 1576, thus addresses him, "Serenissime Princeps, *Cæsar*, et magne Dux," &c.

P. 101, 57.—Platon accuses the Russian bishops of having been made the tools of the boyars in appointing a new metropolitan, while his predecessor who was still living had never abdicated his throne, but had been expelled without trial or conviction by the arbitrary will of the boyars, and without even the consent of the sovereign; which was neither consistent with the canons or regulations of the Church, nor with justice. He says that by their weakness and cowardice they disgraced their order.

P. 101, 58.—A full description of the ceremony of the coronation is given in the second volume of Platon's History. The regalia of Monomachus, and those sent with the Princess Sophia, daughter of Thomas despot of the Morea, and heiress of the imperial family of Constantinople, are still preserved, and may be seen in the Armoury Hall or Treasury in the Kremlin at Moscow.

P. 101, 59.—"As being the last scion of the ancient imperial house," and so in a manner the heir of the empire; and as such capable of being with propriety crowned or blessed by the Greek patriarch.

P. 101, 60.—The placing of crowns on the heads of the bride and bridegroom is an indispensable part of the marriage ceremony in the Eastern Catholic Church, (and indeed in all the heretical Churches or Communities of the East as well;) so much so, that "to crown" or "to be crowned" is the received expression for marrying or being married, and "the crowning" is "the wedding" of the espoused parties.

P. 102, 61.—The words translated "Public Place," are in the original "Lobnoe Miesto," or "the place of the skull," in allusion apparently to the word Golgotha. Criminals were usually executed here as well as public meetings held.

P. 104, 64.—"Cheteé-Menáë," i. e. compiled or abridged Menologies, or Lives of the Saints, according to the order of their names in the calendar, throughout all the months of the year; which it is usual to read in monasteries during dinner in the refectory, and in many places besides monasteries in the vigils before Festivals or Sundays.

P. 106, 63.—Archbishop Platon represents the metropolitan as exhorting the army of the Tsar, which was assembled at Sviajsk, "to observe the commandments of God, not to neglect the service of the Church, but to live soberly and honestly, to avoid drunkenness and other disorders, and *not to shave their beards*, but to serve their sovereign with fidelity, that they might hope to attain the favour of God, rewards from their monarch, and blessings

from the Church." He refers his readers to Prince Sherbatoff's History of Russia for the original letter.

P. 106, 64.—In every church there are set up at the east end, in front of the iconostasis, or screen, which separates the sanctuary from the body of the church, one pair at least of sacred banners, "Vexilla Regis," (taken probably from the Labarum of Constantine,) which are always carried in processions.

P. 106, 65.—"Gori." The word means literally "mountains," but is here a proper name for a mountainous province of Georgia.

P. 108, 66.—Platon calls him Matushka, an Apothecary, and says that he was particularly inveterate against St. Nicholas. This appears to have been the first occasion on which the Reformation or Protestantism of the western continent of Europe came into contact with the Russian Church.

P. 109, 67.—The Holy Gates, or Gates of the Saviour, are situated on the north-east side of the Kremlin, into which they lead up from the Kitai Gorod. No one passes through them without uncovering his head, and signing himself with the sign of our salvation. The thought may probably have been suggested by some such text as that, "Thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates praise:" Isai. lx. 18.

P. 109, 68.—"This church is named after the vision which appeared to Andrew Salos in the city of Constantinople, in the days of the Emperor Leo the Great; for he saw the Mother of God in the clouds. The same festival was formerly celebrated among the Greeks; at present they are unacquainted with it in practice, but give it the name of *σκέπας τῆς Παναγίας*, or Protection of the Mother of God. The drawing of the picture is this:—The Virgin is in the clouds; and Andrew Salos, by pointing to her with his fingers, is shewing her to the emperor and the whole population of the city."—*Travels of Macarius*, Part iii. p. 315.

P. 111, 69.—It is usual for the sovereign whenever he comes into any city (or indeed any town) especially into the capital, to proceed directly to the sobor, or cathedral, where he is met with the *ἁγίασμα*, or holy water (the remembrance of the dew of baptism) and welcomed with a short speech by the bishop at the head of his clergy; after this he assists at a moleben, or short office in the church, and returns his thanks to God for having brought him in safety to the place where he is: and in like manner, the last thing before setting out on a journey he goes to the church to pray God to prosper him and direct his way; and so may be said in his "goings out and comings in," to set out from the house of God and return to it again, according to that which is written, "In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths."

P. 111, 70.—"Menæa," or rather Menology, containing the lives of the

saints. The word Menæa more commonly designates the twelve volumes (one for each month), containing those variable anthems and "Kanons," and other poetical parts of the offices to be sung in church, which have reference to the saints commemorated on each day according to the order of the calendar.

P. 112, 71.—A village, or rather a small borough of the government of Vladimir, about 86 miles, or 107 versts from Moscow.

P. 113, 72.—The word in the original is "Opreechina," from whence Opreechniki, the name of John's select body-guard, is formed. This latter name has been rendered by the English word "Peculiars," to keep up, if possible, the idea of connection between them.

P. 113, 73.—It was found impossible to render exactly the play upon words which here exists in the original. They were named "Kromieshniki," or "outers," from the "Kromieshnoi Tmi," or outer darkness. There is also a reference and opposition expressed to the title of "Opreechniki," as if, instead of "Personals," or "Peculiars" of the Tsar, they were rather "Familiars of the black fiend, or a "Black Guard," from the "outer darkness."

P. 116, 74.—A cap peculiar to the Tartars, which Christians were not permitted to wear at all; and as in the church, and during these sacred processions, no one was allowed to cover his head, the Opreechnik had committed a double fault. Platon says that many of the boyars committed this offence, and gives the metropolitan's speech on this occasion: "O Tsar, according to the precepts of the Gospel men should pray with their heads uncovered. Why then do those who profess the same faith with ourselves stand with their heads covered, according to the custom of the Tartars?"

P. 117, 75.—Platon places the election of Cyrill III. in the year 1570, or 1572. The Novinsky monastery was in Moscow.

P. 117, 76.—It may be worth while to remark that St. Philip and the tyrant to whom he owed his martyrdom had been contemporaries of the English Kings, Henry VIII., and Edward VI., and of Queen Mary; and that the prelate was martyred in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

P. 118, 77.—There is an agreement in this passage between the thought of the author, and the actual position of the tombs of these great prelates in the cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin. According to Platon, the followers of Skouratoff smothered the metropolitan with pillows. He however afterwards disavowed the deed, and attempted to throw the blame upon the superior of the convent, as if through some negligence he had been suffocated by the fumes of charcoal from his stove.

P. 119, 78.—Novogorod was indeed ruined by him; and seems never to have recovered itself afterwards. Oustreloff says that the territories of that republic had at one time extended on the South to Torjok, on the North to Kexholm, a hundred miles beyond St. Petersburgh, on the East to the extremities of the modern governments of Archangel, Viatka, and Perm, and on the West to Esthonia; a space which contains at the present day upwards of five millions of inhabitants.

P. 119, 79.—"Sounded;" literally, "were struck;" bells being still used in Russia only in the same way as they are said to have been when they were first introduced in Italy. The bells themselves are fixed, and are struck by people who go up into the tower for that purpose.

P. 120, 80.—This was of course altogether irregular; but it is worthy of remark that even for second marriages a slight penance is imposed by the canons of the Church, as if in acknowledgment that they are not to be approved, but are only permitted.

The first robber of the Church of Russia as well as of the Church of England was a murderer: and with this first confiscation of Church property in Russia by John, and the edict which accompanied it, commenced that long struggle *of the boyars* against the secular influence of the Church, which ended in the degradation and imprisonment of Nikon; and the effects of which have been the ultimate reduction of all the superior clergy to the condition of stipendiaries of the civil government, the ruin in a great measure of the monastic institute, and the most imminent danger of an utter demoralization spreading to the whole nation from the higher classes; which (as well as the highest temporal Authority itself) have been since the time of Nikon in a secular point of view altogether above the Church, and have certainly gained neither in faith nor in morals, *nor even in real political power or liberty* by the success of their sacrilegious war upon the temporal influence and property of the Church in past times. It is never to be forgotten that this evil was *not properly the doing of the sovereigns of Russia themselves, but of the nobility.*

P. 120, 81.—"Of the Pechersky." This is not to be confounded with the original Pechersky at Kieff, from which it derived its name.

P. 121, 82.—Stephen Batori, Prince of Transylvania, and Henry, Duke of Anjou.

John IV., surnamed the Terrible, son of Basil IV., was born in Moscow August 25, 1530, ascended the throne 1533, was under guardians till 1547, when he was crowned, and assumed the reins of government as Tsar, and Autocrat of All the Russias; he died March the 18th, A.D. 1584, and was buried in the cathedral of the Archangel.

P. 124, 83.—Platon, however, remarking upon the description given of the coronation of John III., from which this does not seem to have varied, says, that though there were words in the office praying "that God would

anoint him with the oil of gladness," no mention is made of his having been actually anointed, or of his having communicated within the altar, as became the rule on similar occasions afterwards.

P. 124, 84.—The Terek is a river which separates the Russian dominions from Persia.

P. 124, 85.—The Georgians had been Christians from an early period, and still remained so as a people; but many of them had been forced into Mahometanism.

CHAP. VI.

P. 126, 1. (86.)—Platon expresses an opinion on this subject which is entirely opposed to that of our author, considering that the Russian Church had a right by the Œcumenical canons to elect and consecrate her own primates, and that the will of the Great Prince or Tsar was quite sufficient reason for setting aside a custom which had grown up naturally enough, but was yet strictly speaking uncanonical.—See above, p. 367, notes 20 and 21.

On the elevation of Job to the metropolitan chair, Platon makes the following just reflection. "Since the canons of the Church permit no one to take the place of another during his life, unless he shall have abdicated it, or shall have been found guilty of some crime by a synod of bishops, we must conclude that Job's accepting the office of metropolitan, and the other archbishops and bishops giving their consent, was a proof of their cowardice, and of his want of holy zeal and respect for the office of a Christian bishop."

P. 127, 2. (87.)—This language of the apostasy of the Roman patriarch from the unity of the visible Church is maintained, though with some inconsistency, in all the recognised divinity of the Eastern Church. M. De Maistre has very well observed that there is a similar inconsistency on the Latin side in the common use of such expressions as "the Eastern Church," "the Greek Church," and proposes to substitute the expression "Les Eglises Photiennes." On the same principle, he would very rightly object no less to the titles "Church of Russia," "Church of England," or even "Anglican Church," and would exclusively use in designating the Church of England, the safer and more consistent language of "The Establishment," "the Established," or "Reformed," or "Protestant," or "Cranmerian Church, or Sect."

P. 129, 3.—The Nomination is a separate ceremony from the Consecration, in which a formal announcement of the election is made in the name of the civil and spiritual powers to the ecclesiastic upon whom their choice was fallen, and he makes a speech, giving his formal consent to undertake the office.

P. 129, 4.—"Different doors," that is, outer doors of the church.

P. 129, 5.—In this and the preceding sentence the word Ambon is used for the episcopal dais or platform in the middle of the nave. The Ambon ordinarily means the projecting part in front of the Solea, on which the deacon stands to bid the prayers of the Ecteneiæ. By other writers the establishment of the patriarchate is attributed almost exclusively to Godounoff, who, they say, was desirous of thereby gratifying Job, and attaching him more firmly to his person, that he might make him a more ready instrument of forwarding his ambitious views.

P. 130, 6.—This was a merely nominal promotion, as their title of Archbishops had been before: the patriarch himself continued to be in fact the only archbishop, and all the rest his suffragans, as had been the case from the beginning; only now he had received the title of patriarch and become independent of the see of Constantinople. The new metropolitan of Kroutits was vicar to the patriarch, and had also a diocese of his own.—See above at p. 370. the note headed p. 39, 32.

A further reason for the nominal dignities created at this time in the Russian Church was, that the new patriarch might be elected by metropolitans, and instituted by a metropolitan. This was the case with the patriarch of Constantinople himself, who was elected by his own synod, and instituted by the metropolitan of Heraclea, without any intervention of the other Œcumenical patriarchs.

P. 131, 7.—The establishment of the patriarchate in Russia seems to have been effected in the first instance without the convocation of any such general council of the Eastern Church as had been intimated to be necessary for that purpose by the patriarch of Antioch, merely by the personal act of the patriarch of Constantinople, and that too without the consent or attendance of the other prelates of his own patriarchate, and in a foreign country, where he may possibly (as some say was in fact the case) have been detained against his will, and where his compliance with the wishes of the Tsar may have been the price of permission to return to his own country.

However this was, the institution of the patriarchate (like that of the synod afterwards by Peter the Great, against which a still more serious charge of invalidity would else have lain) was made good and valid afterwards by the allowance and blessing of the united synod of the four patriarchs, and their metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, met together in what is called after their phraseology an Œcumenical council; i. e. a Council, in which all the four so styled Œcumenical patriarchs were present, either in person or by their representatives.

P. 132, 8.—The metropolitan of Bulgaria was said in Smith's time, (A.D. 1676,) to have under him eighteen bishops.—*De Græcæ Eccl. Hod. Stat.* p. 50. For a full account of the coming of Dionysius into Russia, see Appendix No. II., at the end of the History, p. 325.

P. 132, 9.—Our author, in his Pilgrimage to the Holy Places, (vol. i. p.

188,) tells us that the title of Œcumenical judge was assumed by Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 1000, on account of the reconciliation he effected between the Emperor Basil III., and Sergius patriarch of Constantinople. The cause of the quarrel was that the patriarch had spoken ill of the emperor, and the emperor had laid violent hands on the patriarch. They had recourse to the judgment of the Lord of Alexandria, who having made two wax figures, one of the emperor and the other of the patriarch, cut out the tongue from that of the patriarch, and cut off the arm from that of the emperor; by which he intimated to each the severe punishments which they deserved, and which their exalted rank alone preserved them from suffering. Struck by the boldness and justice of his decision, they laid aside their mutual animosity, and as respective proofs of their gratitude to their judge, the patriarch placed on him his Epitrachelion (Omophorion) and the emperor his crown, and proclaimed him to be the Œcumenical judge. In memory of this circumstance, the patriarch of Alexandria wears two Omophoria over his robes, and a double crown on his mitre.

P. 135, 10.—The word in the original is "Terem."

P. 135, 11.—The word translated here "Litanies" is in the original "Molebni," compositions, which may be described as poetical Litanies, never intended to be said; while the Ecteneiæ answer more closely to our prose Litany, which is quite as suitable (or rather more so, for an individual) to say, as to sing.

P. 136, 12.—It is only within the last few years that the Gregorian style has been so much as noticed in the Russian almanacs. Both styles are now given together, though the old is still followed in the calendar, and could not perhaps be changed without deeply offending the prejudices of the people.

P. 138, 13.—"Vladimir," not to be confounded with the capital of the same name.

P. 139, 14.—"Castellan" was the name generally given to the priests of the Latin rite, in the Polish and Lithuanian territories, by members of the Greek communion.

P. 141, 15.—Hetman is the Russian, Ataman the Polish form of the word, both being originally the same as Hauptmann.

P. 142, 16.—Advantage of which was taken in 1839 to facilitate the return of 1,600,000 Uniates to the communion of the Russian Church. This was effected on the single condition of their retracting their acknowledgment of the pope's headship, and confessing that our Saviour Jesus Christ is the only Head, that can strictly and properly be so called, over His whole Church.

P. 142, 17.—Zaporogi, or, "living beyond the *Falls* of the Danube:" Porog signifying a rapid fall in Russian.

P. 145, 18.—Theodore I., son of John IV., was born May 31, A.D. 1537, began to reign after the death of his father on the 19th of March, A.D. 1584, died June 1, 1598, and was buried in the church of the Archangel. He was, perhaps unintentionally, the author of the present state of vassalage of the peasantry, by his edict that they should remain on those estates on which they had settled, and should not be allowed to remove from one village to another without the permission of the proprietors. Through an abuse of this law the peasantry are now sold with the estate, and landed property is not so often reckoned by the number of Dessatines it contains, as by the number of "Souls" (male peasants) which inhabit it. By a fiction of law certainly never intended by the lawgiver, individuals both male and female are even separated from their families, and from the estates to which they are attached, by selling a small portion of land with them. I have been happy to learn that this abuse has lately attracted the attention of the legislature.

P. 145, 19.—Theodore had reigned fourteen years, and died January 6, 1598. His consort Irene retired into the Novodivichy convent on the 15th of the same month, having refused to accept the crown.

P. 146, 20.—"Bolarin," or "Boyarin" in the singular, "Boyari" in the plural. The modern contracted form Barin is now commonly applied by the lower orders to their superiors, much as Sir is in English.

P. 146, 21.—Said to have been brought from Greece to Kieff; and for the reception of which the cathedral at Vladimir was first erected.

P. 146, 22.—Boris Godounoff was crowned the 1st of September, 1599, the first day of the year according to the then reckoning. During the ceremony he rent his royal robes, to testify that he should be always ready to divide his property with the poor.

P. 146, 23.—"Terem." The upper story of the palace, which was generally smaller than the lower, was so called: it was usually inhabited by the ladies of the family, as they were there not so much exposed to being seen. Terem is probably the same word with Harem.—*Reiff's Russian and French Dictionary.*

P. 148, 24.—These are the last words in the ordinary funeral service which is performed over all Christian people: "To our brother or sister M. or N. be a perpetual memory." To "decree a perpetual memory" to any one in particular is to appoint a stated commemoration of him in the Church.

P. 149, 25.—Boris Godounoff was born in Moscow A.D. 1552: he was

elected in default of legitimate heirs to the throne, and crowned the 1st of September, A.D. 1598. He died April 5, A.D. 1605.

P. 150, 26.—"The Public Place," or place of execution. See p. 385, n. 61.

P. 155, 26.—The pseudo-Demetrius ascended the throne the 20th of June, A.D. 1605, and was killed the 17th of May, 1606. His body was allowed to lie exposed in the public square three days for the inspection of the people, after which it was dragged to a place called the "Kettles," on the road to Serpoukoff, seven versts from Moscow, where it was burnt.

CHAP. VII.

P. 157, 1.—The Shliakti are a privileged order in Poland, an inferior kind of nobility, often very poor, and generally too proud to work; they are the ready authors of every kind of mischief; they were the chief instigators of the late calamitous rebellion in Poland. At a recent revision it was found that their number amounted to no less than 400,000. Their patents of nobility were given by wholesale by the kings of Poland, sometimes to the whole of their body guard, to attach them more to their person. The chief nobility followed this example, and gave letters of nobility to their followers in the name of their sovereign.

The Pretender spoken of in the text gave out that a Pole who had assumed his name had been killed in Moscow, that he himself had escaped, and was now returned to take possession of his paternal throne. Marina the wife of the former pretender Otrepieff joined herself to them, and thus supported his pretensions.

P. 161, 2.—A town in the government of Riazan, about ninety miles or one hundred and twelve versts from Moscow.

P. 162, 3.—This monastery was erected by the Venerable Paphnutius, at a distance of two miles from the town of Borofsk, and is described as being very rich in vestments ornamented with pearls and precious stones, and vessels of gold.

P. 162, 4.—Prince Shouesky, or Basil V., was born in Moscow in 1547, elected as Tsar May 19, 1606, expelled from his throne July 17, 1610, and died in Warsaw, September 12, A.D. 1613.

Platon has the following remarks on the treasons and miseries of these times: "After diligently examining all our annals, the truth compels us to acknowledge, to the honour of the Russian clergy, that not one of its members ever adhered to the pretenders. Although from the fear of death some kept themselves silent, and through pusillanimity and the weakness of our nature did not venture openly to oppose them, yet no spiritual person so took the part of either the pretenders or the traitors, as to serve them or co-operate with them. But on the other hand many of our bishops and almost all our monks openly rebuked the pretenders, and refused to submit

to them, and many suffered death: they however left an immortal memory behind them, and afforded a striking proof how strong a support the clergy are to the state."

P. 165, 5.—The Kitai is a kind of fortress separated from the town of Moscow by a lofty crenelated wall, and forming part of the Kremlin, from which however it is divided by a wall and gates. It derived its appellation from the name of a former proprietor of the soil, although the more common translation is, "The Chinese Town," owing to the accidental circumstance that Kitai is also the Russian name for China.

P. 166, 6.—Called in Greek ἁγίασμα. It is not kept constantly in the churches as by the Latins, but blessed for each separate occasion.

P. 169, 8.—Platon says, "In the first place it was decided that all Christian men should fast for three days, and pray to God that He would graciously bestow on them a just and religious sovereign, that their choice might proceed from the King of Kings, and not from men. Consequently a general fast was observed so strictly, that neither men, women, nor children ate or drank any thing for three days, and even infants were not allowed to take the breast. After this they proceeded to the election, it having been previously decided that every class of subjects should give in in writing the name of him whom they preferred.

In consequence of this many of the deputies from the nobles, the merchants of different towns, and the hetmans of the Cossacks, went to Abraham Palitsin, and delivered to him each his own choice in writing, and begged him to present it to the General Assembly. The venerable man wept with joy when he presented these writings to the Great Council of the Spiritual and Temporal Lords; for the assembly were astonished on examining all these papers, as well as others which had been sent from different towns, to find that they all named one and the same person, namely, Michael the nephew of the Tsar Theodore Ivanovich, and the son of him who was once the great Boyar Theodore Niketich Romanoff, but who was then named Philaret metropolitan of Rostoff, and was at the same time suffering in behalf of his country in Warsaw. Therefore both the clergy and the nobility were agreed in esteeming the choice as having proceeded from God Himself.

It would seem that our author has placed the solemn fast too early, as by Platon's account it was observed immediately after the re-capture of Moscow, and previously to the election of the Tsar Michael, to which it was preparatory.

P. 174, 9.—The Trebnik answers to the Latin "Ritual," and contains the order for the administration of all the sacraments, except that of the Holy Communion, and all other rites and ceremonies of the Church which it is the priest's duty to perform on different occasions.

P. 174, 10.—There are three different ceremonies which may all equally

be called by this name; on the 6th of January, in the mid-feast between Easter and Pentecost, and on the 1st of August.

CHAP. VIII.

P. 176, 1.—The first metropolitan who was buried in the cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow. See above, p. 57.

P. 180, 2.—The title here rendered "Great Sovereign" is in the original "Veliki Hossoudár." It is difficult to render exactly; "Vladika," Lord, being the usual title of the bishops and archbishops of Novogorod, and also of other bishops and even priests, as in the beginning of the Church service; while Hossoudar, though it approaches, yet does not quite reach the force of our word Sovereign, but is rather Lord or Sire, in a sense of feudal and temporal lordship. Sometimes it was used as an expression of great respect and compliment to spiritual persons, as by Godounoff to the patriarch of Constantinople; the abbreviated form Soudar or 's, when used familiarly, is equivalent to our Master, or Sir.

P. 184, 3.—Office or Ritual book. See above, p. 394, note 9.

P. 185, 4.—Mtschet is now a small village situated about twenty versts to the north of Tiflis.

P. 185, 5.—This Tabernacle is in the south-western angle of the body of the church of the Assumption in the Kremlin at Moscow.

CHAP. IX.

P. 186, 1.—In the Dictionary of the Russian Saints, (St. Petersburg 1836,) under the head of Vladimir, it is related that in 1636 Peter Mogila discovered under the ruins of the Church of the Tithes, which had been destroyed by Batius, two marble coffins, containing, according to the inscriptions found on them, the bones of Vladimir and the Greek Princess Anna. He took the head of Vladimir out of his coffin, leaving the other bones and those of the princess untouched, and disposed of it as our author relates, and closed up the tomb.

P. 188, 6.—The Orthodox Confession came however, in its present shape, from the hands of Meletius Syriga, and so received the approbation of the four patriarchs. Dositheus followed it in some important points in the synod of Jerusalem in 1672. This Catechism is upon the list of books to be procured at the synodal press; and a new edition of it was published at Moscow in the year 1839. It passed without any formal or minute examination into the Church of Great Russia, but is acknowledged not to be free, any more than the eighteen articles of the Synod of Jerusalem, from a tinge of Latin scholasticism.

P. 189, 7.—The Confession of Cyrill Lucar, in 18 articles, was first published by the Dutch ambassador, Cornelius Von der Haga, *at the Hague*, in 1629, and was reprinted afterwards with notes and additions, (Aymon says, by direction of Cyrill himself) *at Geneva*. The same writer also asserts that he avowed himself the author of it in presence of the French ambassador of Constantinople, who had invited him to his hotel in the hopes of inducing him to disown it.

P. 189, 8.—Cyrill Lucar was put to death by the Turks in 1628, and his successor, Cyrill of Berœa, assembled a synod at Constantinople in the same year, which anathematized him as a heretic, and seemed to make no doubt of the Confession being really his. Cyrill of Berœa himself was afterwards deposed and anathematized; and among the charges on which he was deposed, besides extortion and embezzlement of the money of the Church, there was also one of having taken part in procuring the death of Cyrill Lucar, by preferring a false accusation against him to the Turks. The patriarch of Antioch, Macarius, then on his way to Wallachia, Moldavia, and Muscovy, joined in anathematizing Cyrill of Berœa.

P. 189, 9.—The synod of Jassy, held under Parthenius patriarch of Constantinople, spoke of the 18 articles of the Confession which it condemned, and the author of which, with all holding similar opinions, it anathematized, only as *attributed* to Cyrill Lucar. In this synod the Orthodox Confession drawn up under the direction of Peter Mogila, in Little Russia, and revised and altered by Meletius Syriga at Constantinople, was examined and approved. This was afterwards referred to, and followed in some respects, by the synod held under Dositheus patriarch of Jerusalem in 1672, which condemned for the last time the Confession of Cyrill Lucar, and put forth a contrary Confession, also in 18 articles, of its own; while it stated at length reasons of considerable weight for supposing that the Confession condemned had not really been written by Cyrill Lucar at all, but was a forgery passed off under his name by the Calvinists.

P. 189, 10.—"Kostels," i. e. Latin Churches, from whence the title "Castellans" for their priests.

CHAP. X.

P. 192, 1.—Michael, son of the Boyar Niceta Romanoff, was born the 12th of June A.D. 1596, was elected to the crown by the general consent of the nobility, clergy, and all classes of the people, Feb. 21, 1613, died July 13, 1645, and was buried in the church of the Archangel in Moscow.

The Monastery Court (p. 193.) was a lay court, for deciding all affairs belonging to the landed properties of the Church and the monasteries, and for settling all business relating to their villages, which was formerly decided in the Patriarchal Court. The following extract from the Travels of Macarius may serve in some degree to illustrate the working of those principles which were finally established by the condemnation of Nikon:

"To return to our account of this bishopric (Kolomna). All the estates of the churches and convents are in the hands of the Tsar; so that the heads of the clergy have no power over such estates or their revenues; but it is the Tsar who sends to every convent, and to every bishop, persons deputed and authorized by him as inspectors over all their funds and income. No head of the clergy or of a convent has any command, except over what he has with him as his personal effects. Every bishopric has its bailiffs and stewards appointed on the part of the Tsar; every convent keeps a register of its income, and leaves the proceeds in the treasury, to supply the wants of the emperor at the time that he marches out to war, as we shall shew hereafter; so that they neither build, nor throw down, nor carry any thing away but with his knowledge and consent. All these matters, as we have said before, they exactly register in books kept with the greatest order and accuracy, and we saw here some of the attorneys of the bishopric."

At the same time the archdeacon writes thus of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; "The place where the bishop holds his court is an arched building, newly built of stone; and therein is contained also his treasury. To this bishopric belongs the absolute property of many farms, with their cultivators; and within the enclosure of this palace is a large prison, furnished with iron chains and heavy bolts, for the offenders. Whenever any one among the bishop's peasantry has committed any misdemeanour, or has been guilty of theft or manslaughter, they bring him and imprison him here, and punish him according to his sentence, as we witnessed more than once, by death or stripes. Over them the voivode has no jurisdiction: the bishop's officers take their fines, and fix the mulct on the thief by doubling the value of what he stole: this is their method of administering justice. So, if any one of the bishop's servants was guilty of drunkenness, they put heavy chains on his neck and legs, and hung upon him a huge bolt, or log, such as no beast of burden could drag. For many of these offenders our lord the patriarch used to intercede, and obtained their liberation from confinement."

And of the disposition of the Tsar towards the Church, as follows: "The Tsar favours the clergy, and the monks, and every order of priesthood, setting an example to the whole country of temperance, modesty, and humility, of piety, and perseverance in prayer, and of the most generous liberality to the bishops and other ecclesiastics, as well as to the various institutions of monks, his faith and confidence in whom are only exceeded by his beneficence towards them."—*Travels of Macarius*, pp. 316, 314, and 318.

P. 196, 2.—His deacon in his Life, gives us the address he made in the words of our Saviour himself, to the rebels. "Are ye come out against me with swords? I have been daily with you, and ye did not touch me, why are ye thus come? Do you not see how I stand up before you, and do not bend to you? As I am a shepherd, it becomes me to lay down my life for the sheep."

P. 202, 3.—Nikon, in the letter he afterwards wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople, declares, and calls God to witness that he speaks the truth, That the sovereign himself came to the church of the Assumption accompanied by the bishops and nobles, and that they all threw themselves on the ground together with many of the people, and that while they were thus lying they entreated him even with tears to become their chief pastor, and that he, witnessing the extraordinary emotion of the Tsar, and seeing how earnestly he desired his promotion, felt ashamed of his own obstinacy, and recollecting that the hearts of kings are in the hand of God, at length agreed to gratify their wishes, but required of all who were there, that they would first give him their words, and make a covenant with him in the church, before Almighty God, that they would, without fail, obey him in all things as their chief pastor and their father, possessing the supreme authority over them. This the Tsar, the nobles, clergy, and the whole assembly, promised to do before Almighty God on his Holy Gospel and the venerable images.—*Platon's Hist. of Russia.*

CHAP. XI.

P. 206, 1.—The writer of the Travels of Macarius says that when he arrived with the patriarch in Moldavia, "we were preceded by the chief of the bishops of Ochrizon, a city founded by the Emperor Justinian, whose banner was green. He also made his way to Potiblia; and putting forth the same pretensions (as the archbishop of Cyprus mentioned before, viz. to be a patriarch) was treated with like disdain, until he sent to make his excuses, and to beg pardon for his error. When we were in Wallachia, there appeared there a certain Kyr Gabriel, chief of the bishops of the province of Servia, whose see is the residence of a Pacha, and is called Ibakio. This prelate was formerly under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ochrizon, but having asserted his independence, he now pays a yearly tribute to the Bostânji Bâshi. He too pretended that he was a patriarch, in all pomp and majesty, and we wrangled much with him and his disciples on this score. This same prelate went before us from Wallachia towards Moscow, in the middle of the Great Lent. He arrived at Potiblia in great glory and magnificence, with led horses, with splendid saddles, silver harness and armour, and flowing bridles: and now again he presumed to call himself a patriarch; and sent word of his arrival as such at Potiblia, to the patriarch at Moscow and the lieutenant of the Tsar; for the Tsar himself was absent on an expedition. In the mean time he bribed the voivode with a sum of direms, and entered into the interior before any answer came to his message. Not long afterwards he was met by a messenger on the road, bringing with him a rescript, in which it was ordered that the prelate should be made to leave the country; for that a sixth patriarch was an impossibility. He was accordingly forced to return a distance of three days' journey. Then he had recourse to entreaties; and at length prevailed on them to let him send a letter to the patriarch, in which he humbled himself and craved pardon for his error, and declared that he came to enter in the

name of the sovereign (that is, to become his vassal and subject for life); and on the receipt of this letter, they sent an order for his readmission in this form."—*Travels of Macarius*, Part iii. p. 282.

P. 213, 2.—The History of the Travels of Macarius was written by his attendant archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, who accompanied him, in Arabic; and the account of the first journey from Syria to Moscow and back again to Aleppo in eighteen books has been translated by F. C. Belfour, Esq., and printed by the Oriental Translation Fund in London.

P. 214, 3.—"The Cross Room," i.e., a room set apart for prayers, but without any sanctuary or altar. The Nestorians, who have been separated from the Orthodox Church now for fourteen centuries, and have preserved, in what they have in common with it, the traditions of (at the least) the fifth century, whenever they pray in their private dwelling-houses, set up a small cross, which serves them instead of the sanctuary towards the east and the altar in a church. The Russians and Greeks do the same thing, with the addition of lights and a holy picture, connected, like the cross itself, with some association of Christian faith.

P. 217, 4.—The hill now called the "Mount of Olives" is only a few hundred yards distant from the gate of the monastery, which is approached from it by an avenue. There is still there a small chapel and cross, marking the spot where the Tsar and the patriarch stood together when the name of the New Jerusalem was first given to the projected monastery.

P. 217, 5.—The model in wood is still preserved in the vestry of the monastery of the New Jerusalem, as is also another of the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

P. 223, 6.—A small strong tower of four stories connected by a narrow winding staircase, in the meadow, at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the monastery. It is still in perfect repair.

P. 228, 6.—The idea most dwelt upon by the Church, and indeed the end, properly speaking, which she has in view in the holy unction, is the obtaining the grace of bodily recovery from sickness through the forgiveness of sins, all sickness being originally the consequence of sin. But this does not prevent her allowing the unction even to persons in health who are in no bodily danger on some occasions, or to persons in danger of death when there is no sickness; the office not being wholly improper or out of place so long as any part of its idea and purpose can hold good, though certainly there is in such cases some verbal inconsistency in the prayers of the office itself. In this particular instance, the idea of Nikon was precisely identical, so far as it appears, with that of the extreme unction of the Roman Church.

P. 231, 7.—The kloboúk (*καμηλαύχιον*) is a high cap, much like a hat

without a crown, with a veil or cowl covering it, and falling down on the shoulders behind. It is worn by all the regular or black clergy, who have received the tonsure and the gown.

CHAP. XII.

P. 234, 1.—The position that the Communion of the Eastern or Greek Rite is of itself the whole Catholic Church, to the exclusion of the Western or Latin, is generally maintained as a technical point of school divinity, but is not popularly believed among persons of education. It is difficult to overrate the advantage which the Roman definition of the Church derives from the false position in which the Eastern Church is thus placed by her theologians, a position in which one compact third part of Catholic Christendom, by pretending to be the whole against two-thirds, deprives itself of all that influence which it might otherwise exercise upon them, and prevents the members of the Roman Communion from seeing any more probable definition of the visible Church than their own. While we make these remarks, it is due to the author of this history to state at the same time, that he has done no more than accept and express the recognised and established opinion of the Russian and Greek divines, and that which is even embodied in all the modern ecclesiastical legislation of the Eastern Church.

P. 237, 2.—See above, p. 141, 15.

CHAP. XIV.

P. 243, 1.—The form of the celebration of the Liturgy differs in some respects when a bishop officiates from that which is observed when the chief celebrant is only a priest; so much so, that the order for the Episcopal Liturgy is printed separately in the pontifical, while that which the priest follows is contained in the Sloujebnik, or Service-book.

P. 243, 2.—The words in the original express both leave-taking and making up a quarrel, making one's account straight with another who has any thing against us.

Alexis was born in Moscow on the 9th of March, 1629, ascended the throne July 13, 1645, and died January 29, 1676. Platon gives his will at full length; a curious document, which exhibits a strong feeling of religion, and contains a very beautiful prayer. Theodore II., son of Alexis, was born in Moscow, June 8, 1656, ascended the throne January 30, 1676, died April 27, 1682, and was buried in the Sobor of the Archangel.

P. 244, 3.—The Monastery of St. Cyrill is on the White lake (Bielo-ozero.)

P. 246, 4.—The Refectory, or Trapeza, in the older monasteries, was, in fact, part of the church, answering nearly to the western part of the nave in our churches, and was separated by an arch, or by doors, or by projec-

tions from the outer side-walls, more or less completely from the body of the church under the dome or central cupola, and the transepts.

P. 252, 5.—"Transubstantiation." This word appears both in the Orthodox Confession, and in the eighteen articles of the Synod of Jerusalem held under Dositheus A.D. 1672, which followed therein the Orthodox Confession; and in these two documents it is not only the word, but the whole Roman definition of the manner of the change by substance and accidents which is asserted. However, by a strange and providential inconsistency, the Greeks, whose only object was to assert the real presence and to reject Calvinism, and who suspected no new difference between their own Church and the Latin, beyond the old and well-known historical differences, coupled their admission of the Roman definition of the manner of the change, with a declaration, that by using the word "transubstantiation" they by no means intended to define, nor to allow any attempt to define, the manner of the change. This declaration passed from the Orthodox Confession into the eighteen articles of Dositheus, and has ever since stood side by side in both documents with the Roman definition of the manner, the incautious admission of which it in fact neutralizes and condemns. Within the few last years the Russian synod has published a catechism based upon the Orthodox Confession, and stamped with all the authority of their Church, in which the word "transubstantiation" is retained and allowed with the explanation that it is by no means to be taken to imply any definition of the manner; and for this reference is made to the Orthodox Confession, while the definition of the manner by substance and accidents, which appeared also, though inconsistently, in the Orthodox Confession, is entirely omitted. Words perfectly analogous to transubstantiation, such as transmutation and transelementation, having been always in use in the Church, it is evident, as divines of our own Church have shewn, that the mere word transubstantiation may very well be used and taken in the same sense.

P. 254, 6.—Lvoff, and all the adjacent country which formerly belonged to Russia, was seized on by the Austrians in 1772. The inhabitants still retain their ancient Slavonian language, and their attachment to the Orthodox Greek communion, with which 719 churches and 7 monasteries are still connected. There are said to be 700,000 of these Russi Carpatici, as the Society of Russian History and Antiquities (from whose Transactions, vol. iii. p. 220, I have taken these details) calls them. These people, although separated from Russia and united to Austria, are still Slavonians in heart as well as in language, and would be a source of weakness to the rulers of the latter country, if attacked by the former.

CHAP. XV.

P. 258, 1.—Of Metrophanes a curious anecdote is related in the Dictionary of the Russian Saints published at St. Petersburg in 1836, (p. 184.) "Peter the Great, who deservedly esteemed Metrophanes, was staying at Voronege,

of which place he was bishop, and had there a large work-room for his naval preparations: on one occasion wishing to consult the prelate, he ordered him to be summoned to attend him at a small palace near the city, in front of which were placed the statues of many of the heathen divinities, amongst others that of Venus. But Metrophanes when he saw the statue refused to enter the palace, and returned home. When Peter heard of this he sent for him a second time; but the bishop replied that until he ordered that statue to be removed, which was a scandal to the people, he would not enter the doors. On this Peter ordered that he should be reminded that death was the penalty of disobedience to the orders of the sovereign. The bishop replied to the messenger, 'The Tsar has indeed power over my life, but it is unbecoming an Orthodox monarch to set up heathen idols, and thus scandalize ignorant people, and I would rather endure death than by my presence give any countenance or reverence to idols.' Peter bore this rebuke with patience: but Metrophanes thinking he had offended his sovereign, began to prepare in earnest for death, and ordered the bells of the church to be struck for evening service. When Peter heard them he sent to enquire the reason of their being rung, and when he learned that the bishop had ordered it, that he might celebrate the Liturgy the next morning for the last time, and so the better prepare himself for death, he laughed as if it had been all a joke, ordered the offensive statues to be removed, and again sent for the pious pastor, who on his arrival thanked Peter not so much for the preservation of his life as for the removal of the scandalous idols." St. Metrophanes is the last saint whose name has been placed in the Russian calendar. This took place in 1832; since which time, as well as before, many gifts of healing are said to have been obtained through him.

P. 259, 2.—John, the elder brother of Peter I., was born August 27, 1668, ascended the throne May 23, 1682, died October 1, 1696, and was buried in the Sobor of the Archangel.

CHAP. XVI.

P. 265, 1.—The rouble could not at the utmost be reckoned at more than 4*s.* 6*d.*, it is now about 3*s.* 2*d.*

The first current money in Russia was a kind of government token of stamped skins; and afterwards small pieces of leather under the different denominations of Cuni or Cunes, Shkuri, Mordki, Lobki, Ushki, Rezani, Dolgie, Zubi, Vegvshki, and Nogati (or skin of animals,) a certain number of which went to make up the Grievna. The word Grievna[a] has a triple signification: firstly, as a mark of honour worn on the breast, probably a medal of silver or gold of a pound weight suspended by a chain round

[a] In modern times, (i. e., since Peter the Great,) a coin has been struck bearing the same name, of the value of the tenth part of a rouble, or nearly 4*d.* of our money, some of which have been preserved to the present day, and the grievna at present is the tenth part of the silver rouble.

the neck; secondly, as a means of reckoning the amount of money (like the English pound sterling); thirdly, as a weight of a pound, either that of Kieff, consisting of 72 zolotniks, or that of Novogorod of 96 zol. Examples of the first sense of the word occur in the preceding History. A grievna in the second sense of the word consisted of 50 cunes, marten skins, or rezani, (for Chaudoir thinks the words are synonymous,) or 20 nogati, representing a grievna of silver, of which there were two descriptions; that of Novogorod, which weighs the same as the modern Russian pound, (which is to that of the English avoirdupois as 1,09017, to that of troy weight as 1,1096,) and that of Kieff, which weighed 72 zolotniks. Vladimir and Moscow adopted the Kieff weight. The grievna, or cunes, is mentioned for the first time in the Russian annals in the year 971, when during a famine a horse's head was sold for half a grievna. The cunes are supposed to have been at first the actual skins of martens: afterwards they were represented by pieces of skin or leather bearing a stamp, engravings of which are given in Chaudoir's work. At first the silver grievna, the pound of silver, and the cunes grievna, were of the same current value, but, (as has been the case in modern times also in Russia) the representative soon fell below the value of the thing represented, either from the decreased value of the skins themselves, or, more probably, from the increased quantity of the leather tokens. This, however, continued to be the currency of Russia for many centuries. At Novogorod during a famine $6\frac{3}{4}$ bushels of rye sold for 1 grievna of silver, or 7 cune-grievnas. In 1424 the citizens of Novogorod and Pskoff, finding these leather tokens would no longer pass current amongst foreigners in exchange for their goods, began to coin copper Groschen to supply their places. The grievna, as before mentioned, was a bar of silver of 96 zolotniks, which we find mentioned for the first time in the year 1144. Some specimens of these have been found in Riazan, weighing about 93 zolotniks, without any stamp. To these succeeded the grievinka (diminutive) or bars of half a pound of silver. I saw many of these that were found in 1821 in the old wall of Novogorod: they are about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and of the thickness of a man's finger, very imperfectly cast, and varying in weight from $42\frac{1}{2}$ to 46 zolotniks: some of them were rudely stamped, others entirely plain When these bars were cut in half they were called Roubles, (from the Russian word "roubliou," signifying, "I cut,") and under this denomination, at first as bars, and afterwards as coined money, and with varying but always diminishing weight, they have become the current coin of the country. As the Russian pound of 96 zolotniks, (about 14 ounces,) may be calculated roundly at £3 10s., it will be easy to reckon what was the value of the sums mentioned at any period of this History. To the year 1462 the rouble retained its original weight of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pound. According to McCullock's dictionary, it is now worth 3*s*. 2*d*.

P. 265, 2.—A Chetvert is equivalent to five bushels, 179 gallons, imperial measure.

P. 268, 3.—"The same leaning," that is, to foreign or heterodox opinions; not certainly to the doctrines of Rome, of leaning to which in

his writings he has never been suspected, but rather toward Lutheran or Protestant theology, for which Stephen Yavorsky (as is mentioned in page 79) censured his theological treatises. It must not however be supposed that the writings of Theophanes are rejected by the Russian clergy, or his memory branded as that of a heretic; on the contrary they fetch a high price; and one in particular, his Treatise on the Procession, (which is mainly taken from the work of Adam Zoernikav,) is held in the very highest estimation; and in truth he was any thing rather than a mere disciple of Lutheranism. He was the author of a Catechism published by authority of the synod in the name of the Russian Church; a translation of which appeared at London in English in the year 1725; also of the Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Regulation, and of the Answer returned by the Russian synod to the proposals of the Sorbonne.

P. 272, 4.—That is, probably on state occasions, on which it is still usual for all indifferently who are in any ways attached to the court, or who hold official positions, to attend at the celebration of the Liturgy.

P. 274, 5.—The literal meaning of the name is "The Old Oak." At that time they had no church at Starodouboff, but only at Vetka, which was at no great distance, and out of the Russian dominions.

P. 280, 7.—In 1684 a fortress on the river Amour was defended by about 400 Cossacks against a very numerous army of the Chinese. After displaying prodigies of courage they were at length compelled to capitulate by famine. The Chinese emperor was so pleased with the courage of these men, that he allowed them to settle in Pekin, and have their own Church there, which has subsisted from that time to the present day; and the settlement or college so formed has supplied interpreters through whom all the commerce between the two empires is conducted.

CHAP. XVII.

P. 284, 1.—The word is in the original "Ecteneiae," which answer only partially to our Litany, not having the same penitential character, but resembling it in the number of petitions which are given out or bidden by the deacon standing on the ambon, while the people make short responses after each, crossing themselves and bowing towards the sanctuary in token of concurrence at the same time.

P. 285, 2.—Theophylact Lopatinsky was of Volhynian extraction; he studied and received the tonsure at Kieff, was prefect of the Spiritual Academy at Moscow from 1706 to 1708, and then rector of the same academy till 1722, when he became archimandrite of the Choudoff, and a member (counsellor) of the newly instituted synod. In 1723 he was ordained bishop of Tver and Kashinsk, and in March 1725 was raised to the rank of archbishop; and became the second of the two vice-presidents of the synod, (Theophanes Procopovich being the first.) In 1728 he published a book against "the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies," in defence of

the "Rock of Faith" of Stephen Yavorsky, which as well as that work gave great offence to the Duke Biron, and subjected its author to various persecutions, and to imprisonment as a common lay person for five years, till the death of the Empress Anne and the fall of Biron, which took place in 1740, when he was set at liberty, and publicly reinstated by the synod in full assembly, but died of paralysis before he could resume the charge of his diocese. He left behind him another work in MS. under the following title: "A Rejoinder to the Answer of Franciscus Buddeus, addressed to a friend living at Moscow, on the Lutheran heresy, against the book of the late Most Reverend Metropolitan of Riazan entitled the Rock of Faith."

P. 285, 3.—The synod as at present constituted consists of eight members, of whom six are bishops, and two (the high-almoners of the army and fleet) archpriests, who may be said in some sense to represent the White clergy.

P. 285, 4.—"Of rebaptizing Lutherans and Calvinists," and also as it should seem "Papists;" though that abuse had been once before dropped and a second time (after it had been resumed by the Patriarch Philaret) corrected synodically with the assistance of the Patriarch Macarius of Antioch, in the time of Nikon.—See above, p. 184.

P. 286, 5.—A treaty for union between a Church believing itself to have preserved the whole Catholic Faith and discipline, and another which it supposed to have fallen away in various points from both, naturally involved to the former the idea of a conversion, and must ever do so unless a real unity in the Catholic Faith be supposed, in spite of any apparent misunderstandings or differences, to have been preserved in both Churches alike throughout from the beginning.

P. 286, 6.—Cyrill Lucar was first made patriarch of Constantinople, November 5, A.D. 1621: he was exiled five times, and finally strangled in 1638. See Smith's "Account of the Greek Church," (London 1680,) and Miscellanea, (1686,) and Aymon's work, printed at the Hague in 1708.

P. 286, 7.—How Cyrill of Berœa was "obliged" to do what he did will be better understood by those who know the history of the struggle, which was carried on at Constantinople, between the French Papists and Calvinists, and in which the Turks and the Greeks were only subordinate agents.

P. 286, 8.—The council of Bethlehem was not convoked on purpose to condemn the Calvinists; but the occasion was taken by Dositheus to comply with the request and follow the suggestions of M. de Nointel, the French ambassador at Constantinople. The following are the words of M. de Nointel, taken from the formal declaration signed by himself and his secretary, and appended to the two editions of the acts of the synod, which he caused to be published shortly afterwards at Paris. "Nous * * * attestons a tous qu' il appartiendra, que le Sieur Dosithée, a present patriarche Grec

de la sainte ville de Jerusalem, ayant été obligé de venir a Constantinople, nous a declaré qu' il avait pleinement satisfait a ce que nous avions souhaité de lui, suivant les avis qu' il en avait receus par nos lettres, et qu' il esperait &c. C'est la confiance qu' il nous a temoignée, nous mettant entre les mains le present livre, &c." p. 360. Edit^{s}. 2dæ. 1678.

P. 286, 9.—The Russian writers frequently use the word German (much as the Orientals do that of Frank) for whatever is Western or Latin, because they are themselves immediately in contact with the Teutonic races, and even the nations which are further off from them, as the Italians, the French, the Spanish, and still more the English, are in some sense German, as opposed to Slavonian. But besides this, the Orientals themselves join the Calvinistic and the Lutheran forms of Protestantism together, and call them both indifferently the German Heresy, because Luther was a German, and the Calvinistic Reformation seemed only to follow in the wake of the Lutheran or German Protestantism. So in the Preface to the Synod of Bethlehem, though held professedly against the Calvinists, the patriarch and his bishops refer to the answers of Jeremiah (printed at Wittemberg, in 1584) to the Lutherans, as being just as much to their purpose against the Calvinists, as if they had been addressed to them. "For, say they, after fifty years of the madness of Luther, Martinus Crusius of Tubingen in Germany, with other sophists of the novelties of Luther (for Luther is in mind and spirit twin brother to Calvin, in spite of their seeming to differ in some particular points) sent the heads of their heresy to the patriarch who then sat at the helm of the Apostolical Church which is in Constantinople."—Ib. p. 22.

However, it must be confessed that the Patriarch Dositheus, in his zeal to condemn Calvinism and to oblige M. de Nointel, though by no means (as the Calvinists pretended of all who gave similar testimony against them) a dishonest or Latinizing Greek, but a man of no small merit, and sincerely attached to his own communion, still did his work rather *too* "effectually," and went somewhat beyond the strict limits of the doctrine of his own Church. For not to mention the word *and definition* of transubstantiation, in which he followed the Orthodox Confession of Mogila, or rather (and especially with respect to that very point) of Meletius Syriga, he gave also the Tridentine enumeration of the books of the canon of Holy Scripture, and reproached St. Cyrill with being either a fool or a knave for calling the others Apocrypha, and in answer to the question, Whether all the faithful are to be allowed to read the Holy Scriptures? he made his synod to answer roundly "No!" On the subject of purgatory also, he goes so far in order to symbolize with the Latins, that he really leaves no more than a verbal difference. But these inaccuracies, which were not made matter of examination or discussion at the time, and on which neither Dositheus nor Parthenius before him had any notion of making new determinations in the name of their Church, can never derive any authority from the reception and approbation given to the documents themselves, in which they were contained. Those documents, both the Orthodox Confession, and the eighteen articles of the synod of Bethlehem, have been reasonably approved,

as answering the end for which they were designed, and embodying in substance the doctrine of the Eastern Catholic Church; but any accidental Latinisms which may have been adopted without reflection, in speaking at the instance of the French ambassador, and through the mouth of the divines of the Port Royal, to bear testimony to the common doctrine of both the Greek and Latin Churches against the Calvinists, on points on which the Greeks were least of all then likely to suspect or look for any differences, besides those which were of historical notoriety;—any such incautious admissions, I say, of Roman phraseology or opinions (which many causes would concur in making probable) are of no sort of authority to establish any new decision in the name of the Church, but may as easily be omitted or corrected as mere errors of grammar or typography, as soon as ever they are perceived to contain any thing contrary to the traditionary standard of Orthodoxy.

P. 286, 10.—The Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila (or rather of Meletius Syriga) has already been mentioned above, pp. 395, 396, 401, and 405. It has been received and set forth by synodical authority in all the four Eastern patriarchates, and also in the Church of Little Russia. In Great Russia it seems to have come in of itself, by virtue of its approval elsewhere, without any re-examination or approval; and has served for the basis of most of the catechisms which have proceeded in later times from the pens of different Russian prelates.

P. 287, 11.—The Eastern patriarchs accused the British of being "Lutherano-Calvinists." The eighteen articles of the synod of Jerusalem seem first to have come into Russia on the occasion mentioned in the text. The eighteen articles themselves, have since been published in Russ, with some slight but important corrections introduced by the authority of the synod.

With respect to the two points of the traditional doctrine of the Eastern Church which the Anglican Bishops are here said to have rejected, and the rejection of which is termed heresy, it may be worth while to make a few observations, not for the sake of entering into any abstract doctrinal questions, but in order to let the reader know precisely what were the facts of the case in the correspondence in question. The two points are the invocation of saints and the outward reverencing of Icons or pictures.

On the first point, the British argued as if the "*worshipping*" of Angels or Saints according to the sense and practice of the Eastern Church was a deification of creatures, and consequently a plain heresy and apostacy from the true faith:

On the second, that if the *worshipping* of the creatures themselves was unlawful, much more the *worshipping* of their pictures or images must be so: and besides, that it was a direct breach of the second Commandment:

Upon these grounds they desired to have a formal permission from the Orientals to reject their doctrines and usages; and yet at the same time they signified that the Eastern Church might continue to *worship creatures*, and *teach idolatry* as before, without in any way thereby disqualifying herself for their communion.

The patriarchs, on the other hand, maintained that the doctrine of venerating and invoking the saints was scriptural and primitive; and that it as well as the canon of the second Council of Nice decreeing the "*worship*" of images, was of Œcumenical authority, and had been received by the whole Church; that therefore to reject either the one or the other was a heresy inconsistent with the catholic religion.

At the same time, it is curious and important to remark, that putting aside mere verbal ambiguities, misunderstandings about facts, and self-contradictions, on one side or the other, there does not appear to have been any difference between the two parties which really need have prevented union even on their own principles: For,

1. On the Invocation of Saints, the Eastern patriarchs distinctly offered not to insist on the adoption of any direct addresses by the English, but were ready to content themselves with the acknowledgment of the Intercession of the Saints, by some allusion or mention of it introduced in their prayers to God; while of course, they expected that the direct Invocations retained in their own offices should no longer be confounded with that *divine worship* which it would indeed be heretical and apostatical to offer to any creature.

The British bishops on the other hand, in their correspondence, most fully and distinctly admitted the Intercession of the Saints, and though the death of Peter the Great prevented the continuance of the correspondence at that time, yet it is a fact, that some of the most eminent bishops of their own communion in England, had already actually done all that the Easterns insisted upon, namely, made mention of the prayers of the saints in prayer to God; and that not only as a matter of private liberty, but in a public service appointed in the year 1661, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, and at the command of the Crown, through the archbishop of Canterbury, to be used in all churches on the day of King Charles the Martyr. The following is an extract:

"We beseech Thee to give us all grace to remember and provide for our latter end, by a careful studious imitation of this Thy blessed Saint and Martyr, and all other Thy Saints and Martyrs that have gone before us, that we may be made worthy to receive benefit by their prayers, which they in common with Thy Church Catholic offer up unto Thee for that part of it here militant, and yet in fight with and danger from the flesh."—*Cardwell's Conferences, &c.* p. 388.

The fact that such a prayer was issued by the archbishop and the bishops his brethren to be used in all the churches of England, is sufficient proof that there was nothing in the terms offered by the Eastern patriarchs on the subject of the Invocation of Saints, which need have thrown any impediment in the way of the re-establishment of unity between themselves and the British; inasmuch as these latter had, in fact, already done the very thing that was desired of them: while their own offer to make "a solid union" with the Eastern Church, *although* she should persist in retaining that whole system which they rejected for themselves *as creature-worship and idolatry*, was a virtual abandonment of *those* charges.

2. On the second point of the Icons, nearly the same reflections will hold

good. The Easterns did not insist on the reception of either the opinion or the practice sanctioned by the second Council of Nice, on the ground that they were in themselves essential to the integrity of the Catholic faith, or to the being of a Church, but on the grounds of abstract (though perhaps secondary) truth, and of Œcumenical authority: while the English bishops, on the other hand, distinctly rejected the opinion of the Iconoclasts, admitted the use of images and pictures in the Church, and by no means denied that they, like all other things connected with religion, ought to receive *a certain* respect and reverence. As for their own rejection of the Second Council of Nice, *as teaching creature-worship and idolatry*, this they virtually neutralized and revoked by offering afterwards to make "a solid union" and communion with the Eastern Church, *although* it should persist in maintaining both the opinion and the usages sanctioned by the Nicene canon; while on the other hand one consideration which they alleged, (but to which they do not seem to have given its due importance,) namely, that the Nicene canon had never been synodically received by the British Church, might, if they could have made good their assertion, have afforded a sufficient ground to the Eastern Church for consenting to the continuance of that difference of usage between the Churches in this point after the re-establishment of unity, which had already existed before the correspondence was commenced; and that without any breach of ecclesiastical principle, or the admission of any arbitrary right to particular Churches to break laws to the enactment of which they had made themselves parties, and which had received, together with their own concurrence, the sanction of a wider and superior unity, or even of the whole Church.

What turn the correspondence might actually have taken it is impossible now to conjecture with certainty: the circumstances under which it was dropped were these: On the suggestion of Peter the Great the Russian Synod had written to the British bishops to request them to send two of their brethren to Russia "to have a friendly conference in the name and spirit of Christ with two that are to be chosen out of our brethren. Hereby, (such are the words of the synodal letter, taken from an English translation made apparently by Dr. Brett,) the opinions, arguments, and persuasions of each party may be more sincerely produced, and more clearly understood, and it may be more easily known what may be yielded and given up by one to the other, what on the other hand may and ought for conscience's sake to be absolutely denied. In the mean time, no prejudice will befal either your communion or ours from such a private conference, nor the hopes of union be altogether lost thereby. This is the opinion of our monarch concerning this most holy negotiation; which seems indeed to us the best. We desire that as soon as may be, you will let us know how it appears to you. In the mean time God is seriously to be entreated by each of us, to be merciful to us and you."

This letter was dated from Moscow, in February, 1723; but James the Protosyncellus (who was to be the bearer) being delayed, there arrived in the mean time from Constantinople the answer of the Greek patriarchs, with the book of the eighteen articles made by Dositheus against the Calvinists, which the synod forwarded together with their own letter which had been

detained, and another dated February 2, 1724, the contents of which were as follows: "A year is now passed since we delivered letters to the Reverend Father the Protosyncellus, to be carried to you, but some impediments have retarded his journey to England till this time. We acquainted you in them how well pleased the most potent Emperor of All the Russias, our gracious sovereign, was, to be further assured of your pious desire for the peace of the Churches, and what advice he gave of the best method to bring this holy endeavour to effect. And because he still continues constant in the same opinion, we send the very same letters together with these, and we desire you will pardon this delay rather for the sake of your own goodness, than for any other excuse that might be made. We also send you a writing of the Greek prelates which we received from Constantinople during the time that the Father Protosyncellus was preparing for his journey, being desired by a letter from them to transmit it to you. In the mean time we desire your charity to know that if, according to the advice of our sovereign, you will send two of your brethren to a conference, *which we again entreat you to do*, we may hope to bring our wishes to a more easy conclusion; which that at length He, the Lawgiver of love, the God of peace, the Father of mercies, may prosper, is our hearty prayer and desire," &c.

After the death of Peter, the High Chancellor Gallofskin, in a letter dated the 16th of September, 1725, acknowledged the receipt of letters of condolence from the British bishops, together with their compliments upon the new accession; and then with respect to the negotiation for an union continued thus: "As to the affair you have mentioned of an union, you may assure yourselves Her Imperial Majesty will support the same in such sort and manner as His late Imperial Majesty supported it; only at these mournful times your lordships will please to have some longer patience, till the first opportunity I can have to represent to Her Imperial Majesty of all more at large, and then I do assure you, I will not fail to acquaint you thereof," &c., with which communication the correspondence closed.

AUTHOR'S APPENDIX, No. I.

P. 289, l.—"While we were here, they informed us that the bishopric of Kolomna is the poorest of all the sees in the Muscovite dominions; and yet it has jurisdiction over more than fifteen towns that are the residence of voivodes, such as Kolomna; which latter voivodate extends over more than 2,000 [200?] large and small boroughs and many villages, containing some of them 10,000 [1,000?] houses. Of these fifteen castles, or chief military residences, one is Kashira, the voivode of which has under his command above 1,000 [100?] villages; Sarbashko, resembling the former; Tula, with its trade and manufactures, &c. These fifteen Sanjaks, or governments, hold command in all over more than 20,000 [2,000?] villages, the number of inhabitants in which may be more easily guessed than reckoned. They are all diocesans of this bishopric; and yet it is considered poor and weak. God help it! Why the three patriarchates of Antioch,

Alexandria, and Jerusalem, are not, all together, equal to it!"—*Travels of Macarius*, Part iii. book vi. section ix. p. 317.

P. 302, 2.—Old Rome is again said to have fallen away through the Apollinarian heresy in the letter of the Tsar to the Patriarch Jeremiah at p. 338. The Apollinarian heresy was synodically condemned at Alexandria under St. Athanasius, A.D. 362, at Rome A.D. 373, and at Antioch A.D. 378. Apollinaris himself died about the year 380. He taught that there are two Sons in Christ, one the Son of God, the other the son of the Virgin; that the soul of Christ had no other reason than the Word; that His flesh was co-eternal and co-essential with His divinity, that He had brought it down with Him from Heaven, and that it had only passed through the Virgin as through a channel; that He now had no longer any body, and that His divinity had suffered upon the cross. His disciples added many other errors to the above.—*Bibl. Sacr.*, vol. ii.

What the meaning of this accusation against Rome may be is difficult to discover.

P. 304, 3.—Not to be confounded with the evening service itself, which it followed, just as the ordinary molebens, which are desired at any time by private individuals after any of the public services of the Church, whether vespers, matins, or liturgy.

P. 305, 4.—See above, p. 391, note 11.

P. 308, 5.—"Archdeacon," that is, according to the literal meaning of the word, which alone was known in primitive times in the West no less than in the East, "the Chief Deacon," not, as with us now, a priest.

P. 308, 6.—The High Place, that is, the bishop's place and seat at the extreme east of the Church, raised by one or more steps.

P. 310, 7.—The lifting up of the Panagia is a ceremony in honour of the blessed Virgin peculiar to the refectories of monasteries or palaces in the Eastern Church: a description of it may be found in Du Cange's Glossary.

P. 311, 8.—The Holy Pictures often have frames, sometimes with a curtain, sometimes glazed, and opening with hinges and doors.

P. 317, 9.—Easter-day is called the Bright Resurrection, or the Bright Sunday, and the whole week the Bright Week; probably from the white garments then worn by the newly-baptized and others, as well as from the spiritual light or brightness of the festival.

P. 318, 10.—"Dëisus" signifies now in the Russian language an Icon, in which our Saviour is represented in the centre, with the blessed Virgin and St. John, or some other disciple, on the two sides. Such Icons, when brought from Greece, had the word δέησις painted under the figures, and

from thence the Icons themselves came to be called Dëisis by the people who did not understand Greek.

P. 320, 11.—"Vedros." One Vedro contains sixteen bottles.

P. 321, 12.—"The Indiction," or "Indict," refers to a mode of computing time; and is an epoch or period of fifteen years complete, after which it begins again. The word itself is Latin, and signifies "announcement," "ordinance," "imposition." Three sorts of Indiction occur in books. 1. The Indiction of Constantinople, which begins the first day of September. 2. The Cæsarian or Imperial Indiction, which consisted in making announcement to the people on the 24th of September for the payment of a certain tribute. 3. The Roman or Pontifical Indiction, which is still used in papal bulls, and which begins on the first day of January. No chronological question is more obscure than the origin of the Roman Indiction. Some make Julius Cæsar the author of it; others the Emperor Augustus; others Constantine the Great, who they say instituted it in September, A.D. 312, after he had overcome the Tyrant Maximus. The learned tell us, that the Indictions were fixed tributes and payments, the tariff for which was published annually; but they are unable to explain why any such cycle as that of fifteen years should have been instituted, or why the name of Indiction should have been given to the cycle itself. It seems probable that the Roman Indiction was the quota which the provinces were to furnish to the troops for their subsistence; that this impost was renewed every fifteen years; and that fifteen years were taken in succession at a time, because fifteen campaigns was the time that the Roman soldiers were bound to serve.—*Bibliotheque Sacrée*, vol. xiii., *from Fleury's Hist. Eccl.* lib. 10, p. 4.

AUTHOR'S APPENDIX, No. II.

P. 328, 1.—This is probably a verbal error, which should be corrected by inserting the words, "of Constantinople," after "Council;" the reference being to the third canon of the "*First Œcumenical Council of Constantinople*," which was, speaking with reference to the whole number, the Second Œcumenical. The words ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, in the sixth canon of the first Council of Nice, could not well be quoted as establishing the precedence of the see of Constantinople over the other eastern patriarchs.

P. 328, 2.—"The Chrysobulla," i. e. "the Patriarchal Golden Seal," which was a sign of independence. Oustreloff argues that the independence of the metropolitans of Kieff, Vladimir, and Moscow, must in some sense have been recognised by the patriarchs of Constantinople from the beginning, from the fact that the patriarchs were used to seal all their missives (or bulls) addressed to them with the Golden Seal, which it was customary to use only in communicating with prelates or princes having independent jurisdiction or sovereignty.

P. 329, 3.—The use of the word "Head" in this passage in the text may serve well to illustrate the inadequacy and ambiguity of words as employed in ecclesiastical controversies, which really spring from a divergency of practical feeling, and not from any assertion or denial of contrary or contradictory propositions upon abstract truth. The Pope joined the Uniates to himself, in the first instance, by the single admission of his "Headship" over the Church, but in a certain practical sense; the Russian Emperor and synod have recently reunited the same Uniates to their original communion with the Eastern Church, on the single condition of unsaying what they then said, i. e. in the same practical sense. But in another sense, if the Greek patriarchs do not hesitate to recognise their brother of Constantinople as "Head," it would seem naturally to follow that in the whole united Church, the title of Head must be conceded by them in a similar sense to the patriarch of old Rome. The unhappiness is that Rome means a very different thing, practically, by her claim of Headship, from any thing which the three patriarchs of the East, fallen in power though they are, have ever yet dreamed of conceding to their brother of Constantinople.

P. 329, 4.—The "First Festival of the Saviour" is the day of His Transfiguration, the 6th of August; the second, is that of the "Icon not Made with Hands," celebrated on the 15th of August.

P. 331, 5.—"The compliments," i. e. "the presents," in which sense also the term "blessing" is often used, much as in our old English version of the Old Testament, "I pray thee take *a blessing* of thy servant," &c. &c.

P. 332, 6.—"Thy Greatness," (Velichestvo,) or "Highness," "Amplitudini tuæ."

APPENDICES

I. *Of the measures of Peter I. and later sovereigns with regard to the property of the Church. Extracted from Oustreloff's History*, vol. iii. p. 145.

In imitation of all his predecessors, Peter the Great zealously exerted himself to diffuse religion throughout his empire by intimating to his subjects, that he esteemed the fulfilment of their religious duties as their most important obligation, and by subjecting those who violated them to the severest punishments. From this source proceeded many strict edicts for the preservation of good discipline and order. He introduced very important changes into the administration of the ecclesiastical department. Two of the most remarkable of these were the institution of the Most Holy Synod, and his regulations respecting the property of the Church.

The patriarchs who ruled the Church to the times of Peter, had maintained the doctrines of Orthodoxy, had exerted themselves to diffuse religion among the people, and served their sovereigns with zeal. Peter

refused to allow the appointment of a successor to Adrian the last of them; for he feared to find in him a powerful opponent of those plans for a general remodelling of the kingdom which he meditated, a zealous defender of all that was ancient, and one who might have a very injurious influence on the minds of the people. The better to prevent any disputes, he entrusted the Guardianship of the patriarchal throne for a time to Stephen Yavorsky, metropolitan of Riazan. But when the reforms of the government had attained some consistency, Peter restored the duties and rights of the patriarch: he did not, however, entrust them to one individual, but to a council of a number of persons, under the name of the Most Holy Governing Synod. The style and title of Most Holy had formerly belonged to the dignity of patriarch; and the Synod retains this epithet in all those parts of the Church service, in which the patriarchs were formerly mentioned.

The Œcumenical Primates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, acknowledged the Synod as their Brother in Christ, possessing the same authority and the same rights with themselves, and entered into the same relations and communion with it as they had formerly entertained with the patriarchs of Moscow and All Russia. Thus the establishment of the Synod by no means weakened the bond of union between the Russian and other branches of the Eastern Catholic Church; and no change took place in the constitution of our hierarchy. In the mean time the general government of the Church was greatly improved; and two important measures of Peter contributed much to this; first, the publication of the 'Spiritual Regulation,' in which the rights, the duties, and the whole extent of the power and responsibility of the clergy were defined with the greatest precision; the second, the appointment of a civil dignitary named the 'Ober-Procuror' of the Synod, with all the rights and duties of the 'General-Procuror' of the Senate, for the purpose of seeing that all the affairs of the Synod are conducted in a regular manner, and according to law: to use Peter's own words, he was to be the "eye of the sovereign."

The property of the Church also received from his hands a different organization. On the establishment of the Synod, the management of this property was taken away from the jurisdiction of the Monastery Court, and placed again under the superintendence of the spiritual authorities. But at the same time a special department was formed for it, by the name of the "Kammer-Kontora," under the Synod, consisting exclusively of lay individuals, for the purpose of looking after the collection and proper expenditure of the revenues derived from the monastery estates, some part of which was applied to the use of the monasteries and the clergy, and the remainder to the support of schools and hospitals. In the sequel, Peter entertained the idea of fusing the property of the Church with that of the state, and of appointing a certain fixed sum for the maintenance of the clergy, and thus *relieving* them from the care of managing their own estates, but his premature death prevented his bringing this important affair to a termination. His ideas, however, were adopted and fulfilled by Catherine II.

Peter III. instituted the '*Economy* College' for the purpose of managing

the property of the Church, which he took out of the hands of the spiritual department (i. e. of the Synod.) He appointed certain annual payments to be made to the ministers of the Church, and the remainder of the revenues to be applied to the building of houses for his invalided soldiers.

The important and vexed question of the property of the monasteries, which had occupied the attention of our government *for the last three centuries*, was finally settled in the reign of Catherine II., according to the plan and intentions of Peter the Great.

From the times of John III., the Government had been all along endeavouring to introduce a *more regular organization and management* into the extensive property of the monasteries, one which should be more consonant with the original intent of those who bestowed it. John, who was a prince of great abilities, entertained a design of taking away the property of the Church, and bestowing it on the State, but was not enabled to do it. His successors endeavoured at all events to prevent the increase of the possessions of the Church. But Peter the Great accomplished the plans of John with his own characteristic quickness and decision. Having re-established the Monastery Court in 1701, he entrusted to its cognizance all the rights of judicature, and the collection of the rents from all the estates which had belonged to the patriarchs, the bishops, and the monasteries. He ordered a fixed allowance in corn and money to be given to the monks and nuns, and applied the surplus to the other necessities of the empire, and particularly to charitable purposes. In consequence of these measures the superintendence of the serfs, who were attached to the estates of the patriarch, the bishops, and the monasteries, was entrusted to laymen, who were to be independent of the spiritual department. Twenty years later, on the representation of the Synod that the property of the Church was deteriorating under this lay management, the emperor ordered it to be restored to the Monastery Court, under the inspection of the Synod: and soon after this, for the purpose of introducing greater regularity in the collection of the dues, and in their management, he instituted a College, under the Synod, the members of which were to dispense the revenues they collected to the spiritual Authorities and to the monasteries, according to the Regulation of 1724, and remit the surplus which remained, together with an exact account of the receipts and expenditure, to the Kammer-College. During the reign of Catherine I., the Kammer-Kontora was converted into the College of Economy, and was placed under the control of the Senate; during that of Anne, it acquired all the rights and powers of the Monastery Court. The Regent Anna altered all the dispositions of the Empresses Catherine and Anne, and ordered the management of all the Church property to be entrusted to the spiritual authorities, under the condition, that they should transmit the revenues to the College of Economy.

The Empress Elizabeth, at the commencement of her reign, suppressed the College of Economy, and entrusted the management of the whole of the estates of the Church to the Synod; and for their due administration she ordered a separate department to be organized under the Synod. At the end of thirteen years she issued an order that the estates of the Church should be no longer administered by persons appointed by the monas-

teries, but by retired officers both of the superior and inferior ranks, (i. e. staff, and subaltern.) This order, however, was not carried into effect till the reign of Peter III., who re-established the College of Economy at Moscow; and gave it full powers to administer the property of the Church, but at the same time subjected it to the Senate. Such contradictory regulations involved the whole affair in confusion, and such sudden changes gave rise to much dissatisfaction. Catherine finally decided the question in the way in which Peter the Great had desired.

Immediately after her ascension to the throne, she named a commission composed of persons both clerical and lay of the first rank, for the purpose of finally settling the destination of the property of the Church, in a manner the most agreeable to its true destination, to the general advantage of the kingdom, and to the real intent of the monastic life. The commission decided to take the Church property, to which 900,000 male serfs were attached, away from the spiritual jurisdiction, and to entrust it to the College of Economy, and imposed on the serfs, instead of their former varying contributions in kind of hay, corn, &c., an annual payment of one rouble and fifty kopeaks, and ordered that they were to apply the revenues derived from that source, towards keeping up the fabrics and ornaments of the churches in a suitable and even splendid state, in paying the due appointments to the spiritual Authorities, and to the different monasteries, in establishing schools and such like pious purposes. There were 28 spiritual schools established with 6,000 scholars; and the sum allowed for their support was 40,000 roubles.

All the monasteries in the empire were divided into three classes, and to each of these was assigned a certain rank, and an allowance corresponding with it. A few of the lesser solitary religious houses that had but small societies, were dissolved, and converted into parish churches. The White clergy (parish priests) were relieved from the oppressive contributions, both in money and corn, which had been imposed upon them during the government of the patriarchs, for the support of the spiritual schools. Invalided soldiers were no longer to be sent to the monasteries for support, as had formerly been the case; but instead they were to be sent to live in the frontier towns of the empire, and to receive a pension which was to be taken from the *economy* revenues. The empress confirmed all these arrangements of the commission, and with *a liberal hand* fixed the allowances to be made. She thus freed the monastic brethren from the cares of managing their property, and deciding on disputes and suits, which were unsuitable to their calling, and introduced a due regularity into the spiritual department.

II. *Of the state of the Russian hierarchy, and Monastic or Black clergy.*

The following view of the state of the Russian hierarchy and monastic clergy in the year 1830, is compiled from sources which may be depended upon; though some expressions may occur in it which indicate that the writer was a layman, and not a member himself of the Russian Church. "The ecclesiastical administration has been based from the beginning upon the canonical prescriptions, upon the Œcumenical and Provincial Councils,

upon which the Synod still proceeds in all that it does, being bound however at the same time to conform to the Ecclesiastical Regulation enacted in the year 1721, under Peter I., and to the imperial edicts which have been is suedsince that time, (which has respect chiefly to the organization of the hierarchy and the distribution of its revenues, according to the Regulations of 1721, 1799, 1803, &c.)

In place of the patriarch, the Ecclesiastical Regulation instituted a spiritual college called the Synod; that is to say, a body, the appointment of the members of which, as they change, depends chiefly upon the will of the emperor, as supreme governor in the Church, and the representations of the High-Procurator[b].

The ordinance of 1764 took away from the monasteries, and from the episcopal sees, all their property in peasants and villages, and so entirely deprived them of all political importance, and all social influence over the other classes and the people at large.

The clergy are divided into, I. the monastic or black clergy, from which all the members of the superior hierarchy are taken, that is to say, all the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops of the eparchies or dioceses; these govern the Church; after whom comes the monastic clergy, whose lives and duties are confined in general to their monasteries, the archimandrites, hegumens, priest-monks, and priest-deacons, who, together with the rest, who are simply monks, make up this first division. II. The secular or married, or White clergy. This consists of the priests or curates, who are either simply priests, or archpriests (protopopes), and the deacons, who assist them: they must all, deacons and priests alike, be married; and together with these are to be reckoned, the sub-deacons, readers or clerks, sextons, bell-ringers, and all inferior servants of the churches, whether in the towns or in the country. The following statement applies only, or almost only, to the hierarchy and Black clergy:

A. Of the eparchies or episcopal sees and districts.

It is well known that All Russia was formerly only one archiepiscopal or metropolitan see (divided however into two since the subjection of Kieff to Poland) and continued so till the 16th century. Her metropolitans gradually came to be independent, *ἀκέφαλοι*, and were always in direct communication with the Greek patriarch of Constantinople.

Upon the creation of a Russian patriarch in the year 1589, the title of Metropolitan was multiplied, and became (as that of Archbishop had been before) purely nominal. These dignities are still merely honorary, being accorded to diocesan bishops, who are all precisely equal one with another, and with the rest who have only the simple title of Bishops, each in his own eparchy, and who are all equally subject, for every thing that exceeds their power as diocesan bishops, to the authority of the Holy Synod. Even the exarch or archbishop of Georgia is not exempt from this dependence; and in this we cannot fail to observe a marked difference between the constitution of the modern Russian and that of the ancient Greek hierarchy, in which latter all the metropolitans (whether independent, *αὐτοκέφαλοι*, or not,)

[b] In the same manner, that is, as the appointment of bishops and patriarchs had done before, but no further.

though ranking under the patriarch of Constantinople, still governed each his archbishops, and these again the bishops who were under them. In Russia, the number of the archbishops and bishops, as well as the territorial limitation of their eparchies, has ever depended, in the main, upon the will of the Tsars; and the episcopal dioceses varied accordingly, and were sometimes increased, sometimes diminished, sometimes altogether changed in name. At present, (i. e. in the year 1830), there are forty eparchial or diocesan bishops, with five vicar-bishops, besides the four dioceses of Georgia, which are ruled by a metropolitan or exarch. The forty eparchies are divided into three classes.

The first class consists of—

1. The eparchy or metropolitan see of Kieff, which enjoys an honorary precedence over all the rest. The metropolitan is still styled of Kieff *and Gallicia*, though this latter province has been separated from Russia now more than 500 years. His vicar (or suffragan) takes the title of Bishop of Chigirin. The vicars rank the lowest of all the bishops, and are really what their name implies, mere deputies and representatives of the metropolitan to whom they belong, without any independent powers. The metropolitan of Kieff is at the same time archimandrite of the Pechersky monastery. The metropolitan of Kieff in 1830 was Eugenius. The name of the present is Philaret, who is a member of the synod, as was also his predecessor;

2. The metropolitan see of Moscow.—The bishop (the celebrated Philaret) is a member of the synod: his title is Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna; and he is at the same time archimandrite of the monastery of St. Sergius, or as it is more correctly termed, of the Holy Trinity. His vicar has the title of Bishop of Demetriefsk.

3. and 4. The metropolitan sees of Novogorod, and of St. Petersburgh; which have often been held separately, but are sometimes, as at present, united under one and the same prelate. The name of the present metropolitan is Seraphim, who is also the presiding member of the synod. His title is Metropolitan of Novogorod, and St. Petersburgh, Esthonia, and Finland. He has two vicars, one of whom takes his title from Revel, the other from Staro-Rouss.

The second class consists of—

5. The see of Kazan, the occupant of which has the title of Metropolitan of Kazan and Simbirsk.

6. Astrachan; the title, Archbishop of Astrachan and Tenotaieff.

7. Tobolsk; the title, Archbishop of Tobolsk and Siberia.

8. Yaroslavla; the title, Archbishop of Yaroslavla and Rostoff.

9. Pskoff or Pleskoff; title, Archbishop of Pleskoff, Livonia, and Courland.

10. Riazan; title, Archbishop of Riazan and Saraisk.

11. Tver; title, Bishop or Archbishop of Tver and Kashine.

12. Ekaterinoslaff; title, Archbishop of Ekaterinoslaff, Kherson, and the Tauride.

13. Mogileff; title, Bishop of Mogileff and Vitebsk.

14. Chernigoff; title, Archbishop of Chernigoff and Neschine.

15. Minsk; title, Archbishop of Minsk and Livonia.

16. Podolia; title, Archbishop of Podolia and Bratslaff.

17. Kishineff; title, Archbishop of Kishineff and Khotine.
18. Olonetz; title, Bishop of Olonetz and Petersavodsk.
19. Novocherkask; title, Bishop of Novocherkask and Georgiefsk.

The third class contains—

20. Kalouga; title, Bishop of Kalouga and Borofsk.
21. Smolensk; title, Bishop of Smolensk and Dorogobouge.
22. Nijny-Novogorod; title, Bishop of Nijny-Novogorod and Arsamas.
23. Koursk; title, Bishop of Koursk and Biel-gorod.
24. Vladimir; title, Bishop of Vladimir and Souzdal.
25. Vologda; title, Bishop of Vologda and Oustiog.
26. Toula; title, Bishop of Toula and Beleff.
27. Viatka; title, Bishop of Viatka and Slovoff.
28. Archangel; title, Bishop of Archangel and Kholm.
29. Voronege; title, Bishop of Voronege and Zadonsky.
30. Irkoutsk; title, Bishop of Irkoutsk and Nerschinsk.
31. Kostroma; title, Bishop of Kostroma and Galich.
32. Tamboff; title, Bishop of Tamboff and Shatz.
33. Orel; title, Bishop of Orel and Sevsk.
34. Pultava; title, Bishop of Pultava and Pereyaslavla.
35. Volhynia; title, Bishop of Volhynia and Jitomir.
36. Perm; title, Bishop of Perm and Ekaterinenbourg.
37. Penza; title, Bishop of Penza and Saransk.
38. Saratoff; title, Bishop of Saratoff and Tsaritzin.
39. The Ukraine; title, Bishop of The Ukraine and Karkoff.
40. Orenbourg; title, Bishop of Orenbourg and Oufa.

Besides the forty dioceses now enumerated, there is the Georgian Church, consisting of—

1. The Exarchate, or Metropolitan See, which has jurisdiction over the other dioceses. The exarch takes his title from Signakish and Kisigsky.
2. The Bishop or Archbishop of Gori, who is also vicar to the exarch.
3. The Archbishop of Imeretia.
4. The Metropolitan of Mingrelia.

The exarch is at the same time member of the synod at St. Petersburgh, and president of the (national or) local synod of Georgia, which is named the Synodal-Kontor, to mark its subordination to the supreme patriarchal synod at St. Petersburgh.

[To the above list are further to be added the following dioceses, which have been erected since 1830:—1. Simbirsk; 2. Polotsk; 3. Tomsk; 4. The Aleoutine Islands, Kamschatka, and Russian America; 5. Kherson; 6. Wilna; 7. Vitebsk; 8. Warsaw; and five vicariates, of Riga, Podolia, Volhynia, Voronege, and Ekaterinenbourg; making the whole number of sees, with the addition of the vicariates, and those of the Georgian Church, (and reckoning Novogorod and St. Petersburgh apart,) to amount at the present time to sixty-one. 1842.]

B. Of the Episcopate (including its officers and servants.)

Each see has its own officers and servants with salaries from the crown, as follows:

Each one of the three metropolitans, or eparchial bishops of the first class, receives in accordance with the regulation of 1764—1797, since the incorporation of the property of his see with the domains of the crown, 2,000 roubles, which were then paid in silver, but are now paid in assignats, (three and a half of which equal one silver rouble,) making for the three 6,000 roubles. The thirteen bishops of the second class receive each from 1,000 to 1,500 roubles, in all 15,000 r. Those of the third class, in all 20,000 r., (the sees erected since 1830 are not here taken into account.) Besides the above payments in lieu of their former revenues, they receive also certain government allowances; the metropolitan of St. Petersburgh and Novogorod to the amount of 15,692 r., the metropolitans of Moscow and of Kieff 8,976 r. each. The bishops of the second class, from 1,000 r. to 1,800 r., (in all 26,000 r.); and those of the third class, each 1,000 r. to 1,400 r., (in all 32,000 r.)

From these sums they are required to maintain the functionaries who are attached to the see of each one of them respectively; that is to say, to provide them with a table, and wood for firing, with lodging, and equipage. The functionaries of the monastic state belonging to the house of each bishop, are the purveyor or economus, the confessor, the priest-monks, and deacon-monks, the keepers of the vestry, church furniture, books, and ornaments, and lastly the simple monks. The appointments allowed for all these differ, but are nothing considerable for any of them. The maximum for the priest-monks and deacons, &c. is 350 r.; the minimum for the simple monks, from 25 r. to 30 r. In addition, secretaries are employed, who receive from 35 r. to 40 r. per annum; servants with 24 r. to 33 r.; and lastly, servants who are serfs, belonging to what were formerly the Church lands, now annexed to the crown. These last receive no wages, and the bishop is bound to keep them; only the synod pays their capitation-tax for him to the crown.

Besides the above, there is an allowance of from 100 r. to 200 r. a-year for bread and wine for the eucharist; from 200 r. to 300 r. for church vestments, &c.; also for the repair of the cathedrals and episcopal residences, 1,000 r., that is to say, from 800 r. to 1,000 r. for the first two classes. Then for keeping up hospitals or alms-houses, (of which there are fifty in the eparchies of the first class,) 500 r. yearly; for thirty in the eparchies of the second class, 300 r. to each eparchy; and for twenty-five in the third class, 200 r.

The four vicar-bishops and their episcopal churches receive sums destined to be applied in the same way, but less than the bishops of the third class. The amount of these sums, according to the number of persons employed, as also that of the capitation paid for the servants taken from among the serfs of the crown, is set down exactly in the statement below marked C.

Besides what has been specified above, each diocese has been suffered to retain some small quantity of land, ponds, or fisheries, houses, gardens, and other property, (though without any peasants attached,) which yield something additional in the way of revenue. This may amount for the metropolitans to from 6,000 r. to 8,000 r. in addition, and for the others in proportion. The maximum revenue of a metropolitan, including the

money he receives as bishop, and as archimandrite, varies from about 25,000 r. to 30,000 r.; that of a bishop or archbishop of the first class, from 15,000 r. to 18,000 r.; of the second class, from 10,000 r. to 15,000 r.; and of the third class of vicar-bishops, from 5,000 r. to 6,000 r., without reckoning presents which they may receive from people of wealth for burials, &c.

When the emperor is pleased to permit any metropolitan, archbishop or bishop, to retire, from age or other infirmity, from his see, an edict is issued to that effect, and he then retires into some monastery. In such cases the retiring bishop is allowed a pension of from 4,000 to 6,000 r. and the use of some servants. But sometimes bishops have been commanded to retire, and refusing, have been placed in strict confinement by the civil power.

C. A specification of the sums allowed in the year 1830, for the support of all the above-mentioned metropolitan, archiepiscopal and eparchial sees according to the order in which they have been already given.

1st. Class.—1. For the metropolitan see of Kieff, and its establishment of officers, 9,694 roubles. . . The capitation money for the serfs allowed, 885 r. 2. The metropolitan see of Novogorod (in which the people employed amount to seventy-six) 14,621 r., and for capitation of serfs, 885 r.; 3. Moscow (including the support of the Choudoff monastery) 12,593 r., and 75 people employed, the capitation amounting to 975 r.; 4. St. Petersburgh (with the convent of St. Alexander Nefsky) 31,114 r., and 86 people employed, the capitation for whom was 1,489 r.

2nd. Class.—5. For the metropolitan see of Kazan 6,879 r., and 60 people employed, whose capitation is 798 r.; 6. Astrachan 6,879 r., cap. of 60 servants, 738 r.; 7. Tobolsk 6,938 r. and cap. of 60, 678 r.; 8. Yaroslavla 6,979 r. and cap. of 60, 798 r.; 9. Pleskoff 7,655 r. and cap. of 60, 678 r. 10. Riazan 6,979 r. and cap. of 60, 789 r.; 11. Tver 6,938 r. and cap. of 60, 789 r.; 12. Ekaterinoslaff 6,679 r. and cap. of 60, 783 r.; 13. Mohileff 6,357 r. and cap. of 60, 678 r.; 14. Chernigoff 6,783 r. and cap. of 60, 678 r.; 15. Minsk 6,277 r. and cap. of 60, 678 r.; 16. Podolia 6,638 r. and cap. of 60, 678 r.; 17. Olonetz 7,075 r. and cap. of 60, 648 r.; 18. Novocherkask 6,843 r. and cap. of 60, 798 r.; 19. Kalouga 10,077 r. and cap. of 46, 611 r.; 20. Smolensk 5,720 r. and cap. for 46, 565 r.; 21. Nijny-Novogorod 5,172 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 22. Koursk 5,272 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 23. Vladimir 5,572 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 24. Toula 5,272 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 25. Viatka 5,472 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 26. Archangel 6,364 r. and cap. for 46, 496 r.; 27. Vologda 5,720 r. and cap. for 46, 565 r.; 28. Voronege 5,272 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 29. Irkontsk 5,316 r. and cap. for 46, 519 r.; 30. Kostroma 5,572 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 31. Tamboff 5,272 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 32. Orloff 5,022 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 33. Pultava 5,070 r. and cap. for 46, 519 r.; 34. Volhynia and Jitomir 5,266 r. and cap. for 46, 519 r.; 35. Perm 5,070 r. and cap. for 46, 565 r.; 36. Penza 5,266 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 37. Saratoff 5,516 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 38. Ukraine 4,466 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; 39. Orenbourg 4,966 r. and cap. for 46, 611 r.; the whole sums amounting for the 39 sees (with the Kopecks, which are omitted in the above statement) to 279,797 r. 21 k., and the capitation for 2,132 serfs 26,046 r. 40 k., or in all 305,833 r. 61 k.

Then further for the vicar-bishops.

1. Of Kieff 1,254 r. and cap. for 12, 147 r.; 2. of Novogorod 1,283 r. and cap. for 12, 135 r.; 3. of Moscow 1,254 r. and cap. for 12, 159 r.; 4. the vicar of St. Petersburgh besides his salary of 1,000 r. has other advantages and perquisites to the amount of 2,000 r. more, making in all 3,000 r. These sums make for the vicars 6,792 r. and cap. for serfs 442 r., which added to the former, make the united sum total 313,178 r. 86 k.

D. Statement of persons employed in the different consistories and their salary. Taken generally, there are in the whole extent of the empire 39 consistories, which are ordinarily composed of from three to five members. In accordance with the ordinances of 1764-1797 (and their subsequent particular modifications) each consistory has its own chancery to itself, in which are the following functionaries; 1. A secretary at from 300 to 700 r.; 2. an assistant with from 200 to 400 r.; 3. four writers with from 160 to 280 r.; 4. four sub-writers with from 120 to 180 r.; 5. transcribers with from 80 to 140 r. The salary of the office-keepers is from 40 to 48 r.; also nine messengers whose wages are from 40 to 48 r. The maximum allowed for the expenses of any chancery, as for that of St. Petersburgh, is 1,296 r.; the allowance for the rest varies from 190 to 396 r.

The expenses under this head for all the eparchies in order as above, are as follows:—First class: 1st eparchy, 3,925 r.; 2nd, 4,932 r.; 3rd, 3,925 r. Second class: 4th eparchy, 5,228 r.; 5th, 3,140 r.; 6th, 2,460 r.; 7th, 2,840 r.; 8th, 3,080 r.; 9th, 2,549 r.; 10th, 2,860 r.; 11th, 2,940 r.; 12th, 2,460 r.; 13th, 2,500 r.; 14th, 2,960 r.; 15th, 8,336 r.; 16th, 3,360 r.; 17th, 2,460 r.; 18th, 2,460 r. Third class: 19th eparchy, 2,271 r.; 20th, 2,271 r.; 21st, 2,871 r.; 22nd, 2,771 r.; 23rd, 2,871 r.; 24th, 2,471 r.; 25th, 2,771 r.; 26th, 2,271 r.; 27th, 2,271 r.; 28th, 2,271 r.; 29th, 2,271 r.; 30th, 2,711 r.; 31st, 2,671 r.; 32nd, 2,671 r.; 33rd, 2,571 r.; 34th, 3,071 r.; 35th, 2,571 r.; 36th, 3,071 r.; 37th, 2,270 r.; 38th, 2,271 r.; 39th, 2,271 r. The sum total of which for all the thirty-nine consistories is 114,777 r.

E. Of the administration of the districts of the Church.

The monasteries, and the curates, of each eparchy are placed under the eye of Inspectors, whose duty is to see that all goes on regularly. These officers report all cases that arise to the judgment of the consistory and bishop of the eparchy. Each inspector or district-dean has a writer allowed him, and a copier besides, who receive each of them a salary of eighty roubles; also two office-keepers at 40 r. each, and an allowance of 40 r. more for the expenses of their chancery. The whole empire contains, in the thirty-nine eparchies and four vicariates, two hundred and ninety-two deans, or inspectors of districts, who employ one thousand four hundred and sixty persons. Their average salary (of the deans) is from 400 to 500 r.

The consistories exercise functions which are partly administrative, and partly judicial. They have the control of the deans, which is matter of administration, and the business of deciding in the first instance upon all

matters of marriage and penitence (i. e. ecclesiastical discipline) which is judicial.

However, their decisions require to be confirmed by the bishops of the dioceses; and the more important matters, such as cases of divorce, go to the synod. The bishop presents them for confirmation, and gives his own opinion at the same time. The decision of the synod is returned to the bishop, and from him goes to the dean.

F. Of the convents of monks and nuns, the three principal monasteries have the title of Lavras, viz., those of the Pechersky (the Catacombs) at Kieff, of St. Sergius in the neighbourhood of Moscow, and of St. Alexander Nefsky at St. Petersburgh. The rest are divided into three classes, the first, consisting of those which depend immediately upon the synod; these are fifteen in number, and are called Stauropegial, from the large double crosses with which they are surmounted. The second class consists of the eparchial or diocesan monasteries, which are subject to the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishops. The third class consists of lesser monasteries, which are not counted in the government list, though their members receive annual allowances. Some however of these there are which receive no allowance, but are permitted to hold some quantity of land instead. There are also a considerable number of priories or hermitages which are not reckoned, inasmuch as they depend upon some one or other of the larger monasteries, and are considered to be as it were parts of them.

I. Of the three Lavras.

The archimandrites (who are also metropolitans) receive salaries of 1000 r. annually, and 2000 r. besides for the table. The vicar or deputy-archimandrite receives 300 r.; the steward or Œconomus, 150 r.; the treasurer, 150 r.; the confessor, 50 r.; the vestry-keeper, 50 r.; thirty priest-monks, 24 r. each; twenty deacon-monks, 24 r. each; twenty monks in service, 20 r. each; twenty hospitallers, 20 r. and four bell-ringers, 20 r. There are in all in these three monasteries 313 persons of the monastic state; besides whom there are singers, servants, officers of the chancery, &c. who receive altogether 57,357 r. Again, besides these, there are 200 work-people taken from the serfs, whose capitation amounts to 2,560 r.; so that the sum total of all amounts to 59,917 r. assignats.

II. State of the other monasteries of the first class.

As far as their personal composition is concerned, they consist of an archimandrite with 600 r., a vicar with 70 r., a treasurer with 35 r., 8 priest-monks with 24 r., 4 deacon-monks with 24 r., and 18 servitor-monks with 20 r. each. There are in all (besides the three Lavras) 26 monasteries of the first class, in which according to the prescriptive schedule there ought to be 729 monks; but there are actually fewer than that number by 148.

Here follows a specification in detail of the 26 monasteries of the first class (including the 5 which depend immediately upon the synod) with the sums allotted for their support. 1. The Novospassky at Moscow, 3,893 r., and 332 r. for capitation of serfs allowed as servants. 2. The Voskresensky,

or New Jerusalem, in the neighbourhood of Moscow, 4,615 r., and 465 r. cap. 3. The Simonoff at Moscow, 3,893 r., and 332 r. cap. 4. The Donskoy at Moscow, 5,153 r. and cap. 332. 5. The Solovetsky, near Archangel, in the eparchy of Novogorod, 3,952 r., and 270 r. cap. 6. The Choudoff at Moscow, (which was comprehended above under the head of the vicar-bishop's appointments). The rest are subject to the diocesan jurisdiction: viz., 7. The Michaelofsky 3,893 r. and 307 r. cap. 8. The Nicholaëfsky 3,893 r., and 307 r. cap. 9. The Youriefsky 3,952 r., and 282 cap. 10. The Khoutinsky at Novogorod, the residence of the vicar-bishop, 3,952 r., and 282 cap. 11. The Tversky of the Blessed Virgin 3,952 r., and 282 r. cap. 12. The Cyrilloff or Bielozersky, in the diocese of Moscow, 3,952 r., and 282 r. cap. 13. The Savin-Strojefsky, residence of the vicar-bishop to the metropolitan of Kieff, 3,893 r., and 332 r. cap. (The above-mentioned Choudsky monastery was 4,020 r., and 212 r. cap.) After these come thirteen monasteries which receive very nearly the same allowances, and for which is paid nearly the same capitation, viz., 14. The Valaamsky in the Ladoga lake, eparchy of St. Petersburgh. 15. The monastery of the Blessed Virgin, at Kazan. 16. The Tolsky, at Kazan. 17. The Pechersky, at Pskoff, or Pleskoff. 18. The Trinity, at Tver. 19. The Ouspensky, (Assumption,) at Chernigoff. 20. The Novogorod-Seversky, ib. 21. The Bogo-yavlensky, (Theophany, or Epiphany,) at Minsk. 22. The Trinity, in Podolia. 23. The Nicholaëfsky, ib. 24. The Paphounsky. 25. The Pechersky, at Nijny-Novogorod. 26. The Transfiguration, at Jitomir. The salaries allowed for all these monasteries taken together, (i. e. for all of the first class,) amount to 99,727 r.; and the capitation to 7,563 r. Two of this class are Greek monasteries, the Nicholaëfsky, and that of St. Catherine, at Moscow, founded in the years 1669 and 1777, as dependencies upon the Iversky monastery, on the part of the Holy Mountain of Athos: for which reason the synod never interferes in the filling up of any vacancies in these two: but the Iversky monastery of Mount Athos nominates the superior and the monks, who are relieved every five years.

III. Monasteries of the second class.

The allowances for these monasteries are still less considerable than those for the others preceding. The archimandrites receive 370 r. yearly; the treasurers or bursars 35 r. Each monastery has six priest-monks at 24 r.; four deacon-monks at the same; eight monks of service at 20 r. Besides these, a proctor with from 31 r. to 58 r.; sixteen servants at from 20 r. to 33 r.; and for other necessary expenses, repairs, &c. 1,293 r. In all these 54 monasteries there are 918 monks, and 791 servants, of the labouring class of peasants. Of this number, there are two monasteries which depend immediately upon the synod. Each monastery, speaking generally, comes to about from 2,300 r. to 2,600 r., making in all 156,002 r., besides 11,187 r. for capitation money. The monastery of Taganrog, which was founded in 1813 by a rich Greek named Varvatzius, belongs also to this class. It is supported by the interest of a sum of 60,000 r., placed out in the bank.

IV. Monasteries of the third class.

According to the regulation of 1764, these were not allowed to have archimandrites for their superiors, but only hegumens or priors. However, by an edict of Dec. 13, 1797, those which are in towns, however little important in other respects, are now allowed to take the title of Archimandrite. They receive an allowance of 200 r.; and in each there is a treasurer with 35 r.; four priest-monks, with 24 r. each; two deacon-monks, with 24 r.; and four monks of service, with 20 r.; in all, 12 monks: a lawyer or proctor, with from 31 r. to 35 r.; and eight servants, at from 20 r. to 23 r. each. For the necessities of the church, repairs, and expenses of the table, each monastery receives 792 r., and so in all from 1,500 to 1,600 r., and pays from 100 to 120 r., for cap. The total number of all these monasteries is 103; which receive in all 159,906 r., and 11,170 r. for cap. The number of the monks in them should properly be 1,282, but there are 94 short of this number.

V. Monasteries not comprised in the Schedule.

These consist of a superior or prior, two priest-monks, two deacon-monks, and two servants, and so in all of seven monks. Thus in 121 houses of this kind, there would be 847 monks, but this number has been still further reduced by an edict to 463. (From the last reports it appears that there were 1,779 monks and 496 nuns.) The synod grants to each one of these houses no more than 300 r., which amounts altogether to 37,000 r. Among their number there are some, which by virtue of particular edicts have received some increase, as for instance that of St. John Baptist at Astrachan, 300 r., that of St. Nikanoff in the government of Pleskoff 200 r., that of Thernigoff 500 r., of St. Nilus of Tveri 500 r. They are divided into two kinds of monasteries with brethren and hermitages.

VI. Monasteries not endowed with any revenue or allowance in money, but enjoying grants of land.

There are thirty-three of this class; and they are almost exclusively situated in those provinces which formerly belonged to Poland. These thirty-three houses have 414 monks. Till the year 1764, all these monasteries in connection with other larger houses were sufficiently well provided if not with peasants yet at least with fields, meadows, mills, fisheries, &c. There was not so much as one which had to support itself on alms or other charitable gifts. The greater part of their possessions had been originally given or bequeathed to them by private individuals who left them lands and peasants; whence the princes, patriarchs and bishops, gave them chiefly or only lands which required labour, and which they were to bring into cultivation: and furnished them with prisoners of war, convicts, and serfs, to work upon them. Those which were specially favoured became very rich, and had other religious houses again and churches depending upon them. However the accumulation of all this landed property in the sixteenth century, gave occasion to a law or constitution which forbade for the future all fresh donations or legacies, except with the express permission of the Tsar. But in those times, as indeed even now, there were always means of obtaining

the necessary permission, and so enriching some particular monasteries. Very recently, in our own time, the Yourieff monastery at Novogorod has found a noble and pious benefactress, who at various times has expended one or two millions of roubles in the erection of buildings and the endowment of the community. The great reduction which we have spoken of took effect chiefly in the time of Peter I.; but though the number of the establishments was then diminished, and their lands exchanged, still the monasteries themselves, with their churches, retained in their own hands the possession and administration of all their property. In the year 1764 the principle of the above measure was carried much further, and they were not only deprived of all this property, but reduced to annual salaries for their subsistence. However the rouble at that day was worth three times as much as it is now. Up to the year 1764, the number of monasteries for men was 732, and the number of the monks in them 7,639, the number of convents for women 221, and of the nuns in them 4,783; according to the fourth survey and census, they possessed 806,071 serfs: and according to the seventh, these same villages contained nearly 1,300,000.

Besides the Lavras, there are still 384 monasteries for men, and 108 convents. They contain in all 6,518 monks, and 4,070 nuns, *including* novices, and such as have been received conditionally. If we compare the present number of the monks and nuns with the figures of 1764, the result shews that the number of the monasteries has been diminished one half, while that of their inmates has been reduced to one sixth of what it was.

The allowances being altogether insufficient, and the religious being in many cases in the greatest penury, a number of monasteries, reduced to absolute extremity, applied to the emperor and petitioned him for relief about the end of the year 1830. The emperor, who was already aware of the urgency of their need, conferred with the high police, and gave orders to the secretary of state to prepare an edict to the following effect:

"That in order that the monks and nuns may have more sufficient means of subsistence, all the inmates of the monasteries and convents under the legal age of profession (viz. 40) should return to the parishes and dwellings to which they originally belonged, and betake themselves again to their former callings." This edict was signed the beginning of the year 1831.

As soon as the Metropolitan Seraphim, the president of the Synod, was informed of it, he asked and obtained an audience of the emperor: and afterwards by his desire prepared and submitted to him a memorial on the subject, the substance of which was as follows:—"That this measure was contrary to the Canons of the Holy Fathers, as well as to the enactments of the Ecclesiastical Regulation: for every monk is a person set apart and consecrated by the blessing of the Church, and already by his profession has dedicated himself to God, and it would be an injustice to rob Him of even one, much more then of several thousands, by forcing them back into their former secular ways of life: and though it be true that the Ecclesiastical Regulation of Peter I., of glorious memory, strictly forbids the giving the tonsure and the final consecration to any before they have attained the full age of forty years for monks, and fifty for nuns, (which injunction is followed to the letter,) still the above-mentioned Regulation no less ex-

pressly permits persons who are their own masters, of their free choice, to commence the noviciate before this age, and to continue it on to the time of their final reception into the monastic state. But now this is the case of those monks or novices who are under forty or fifty years of age respectively. They have made known to God and to their confessor the Christian purpose which fixes them to this state: they have been examined in the usual manner by the bishop or superior, and have entered upon the noviciate, and are now engaged in the strict performance of all its duties and requirements; after which the ecclesiastical regulation permits them, it is true, to quit the noviciate at any time before the age of forty or fifty years, and return into the world; but on the other hand, the monasteries have no sort of discretion nor power arbitrarily to expel them either before or after the usual term of the noviciate; nor has the civil power any more the right or competency to force them, whether they will or no, to resume their former position in the world. In the mean time they are, upon the principles of the canon law, considered to appertain to the monastic order, to whichever sex they belong; and that none the less because the final initiation cannot be granted before the age of forty or fifty. And such an edict as the present has never yet been known to have been enacted in any Christian country such as Russia. Even if it should please the emperor, as having the supreme government, to issue an edict forbidding for the future the ecclesiastical superiors to admit any to the noviciate before the age of forty or fifty; still this, as being a change and abrogation of the existing law, could not apply retrospectively to such monks and nuns as have been already received to the noviciate; besides this he would venture to observe, that these religious persons, if they continued to live, as they no doubt would, in spite of their penury, strictly according to their vocation, would gain nothing either in a religious point of view, or in any other, by having to return to their original mode of life, and that the paternal care and benevolence of the most religious emperor could not be supposed to be unable to find the means of relieving their necessities."

In consequence of this memorial, the Oukáz was revoked and cancelled. The fact was that the high police had had sufficiently accurate information of the number of the religious, of both sexes, as well as of the indigence from which they were suffering; but the functionaries of this branch of the administration had very little knowledge, either of the contents of the Ecclesiastical Regulation, or of the Canons of the Holy Fathers[c].

In order to have a complete view of all the monasteries in Russia, we must add to those of the Church which have been above treated of, twenty-six monasteries of the dissenters, "Starobratsi" or Old Ceremonialists, which contain from six hundred to seven hundred monks, and nearly as many nuns. Most of these were founded in the seventeenth century, after the formation of the Schism. Only three or four have in the course of the last century returned into the bosom of the Church. These have been allowed to retain

[c] Since that time the government has undertaken plans on a liberal scale for the amelioration of the temporal condition of the clergy, both monastic and secular, and still more is likely to be done hereafter.

the use of the old MS. uncorrected books, and the other minutiæ of rite for which they originally separated. The rest however are not contented with these concessions: it is not enough for them to be offered the election of their own clergy and priors, but they must be wholly independent of the bishop and of the synod; and this because they have anathematized the Church in the same way as their own sect was anathematized by the Russian patriarch and two Greek patriarchs in full synod. Their monasteries are generally double, or at least two near each other, one for monks and another for nuns; the largest of all is that of Danilofsky, in the government of Olonetz, where there are near five hundred monks, and as many nuns. They live by the produce of their lands and by the work of their hands. They manufacture stuffs, and tools of various kinds for artizans, and that with considerable skill. More than two hundred nuns are constantly employed in transcribing the old Church books and MSS. which are older than the time of Nikon, and these they sell to all the adherents of their sect. The copies made here are beautifully neat, and the hand-writing almost the fac-simile of the originals. Though there are divers sects among these Dissenters, they all agree and hold together in their value for these old books.

It is stated, on good authority, that the present emperor never interferes with the election of bishops; that the synod elect three, whomsoever they choose, and that he generally consults the synod also, through the High-Procurator, which of the names offered should be preferred.

In 1838, two dioceses, of White Russia and Lithuania, were added to 47 previously existing; so as to make a total of 49; viz. 4 metropolitan sees of the 1st class, 16 sees of the 2nd class, and 24 of the 3rd; the sees of Gruzia or Georgia not being classed: and there were also at the same time 548 religious houses; for men 435, of which 23 belonged to the Uniates; for women 113, of which 9 were Uniates.

Exclusive of Georgia, there were, in 1839, 42,445 edifices for Divine worship; of which 32,879 were Sobors or parish churches. 29,819,218 persons received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The number of persons employed in the service of the Church was 108,486: of these 33,591 were priests, 15,423 deacons, the rest of inferior grades. In 1839, the number of conversions to the Church was as follows: Of Latins, 2,120 (being as many again as had been usual in the preceding years), from different forms of Protestantism 378, Jews 351, Mahometans 441, Heathens 2,601; of native Russian dissenters or schismatics 19,833; making a total of 25,768 (exclusive of the 1,600,000 Uniates who were reconciled in the same year).

III. *Tables of the population of the Russian Empire, of the numbers of the different religious communities within its limits, and of the numbers of the Communion of the Eastern Catholic Church generally whether in Russia or in other countries.*

A. The following is an extract from the Supplement to the Government Gazette, March, 1840.

The population of Russia in 1838, according to the calculations of the Academician Köppen, employed by the Minister of the Domains of the Emperor, was as follows:

European Russia	49,265,800
Siberia	2,650,300
Provinces beyond the Caucasus	2,036,688
Grand Duchy of Finland	1,397,145
Kingdom of Poland	4,298,962
Colonies on north-west coast of America	61,053
Army and Navy, with their families	1,300,000
Peasantry attached to the military colonies	691,512
Calmucs	97,338
Kergises	76,000
	61,874,798

B. The present population of Russia, reckoning the increase since 1838, may be safely set down in round numbers at 64,000,000.

Of these there are	
Heathens (of whom 113,772 Buddhists, and 75,000 others)	189,323
Mahometans	1,826,761
Jews	1,400,000
Dissenters of Russian origin	3,000,000
Calvinists and Lutherans, of the German provinces	3,000,000
Armenians in Georgia and the Caucasus	260,000
Poles and others of the Latin Rite, with 13,391 Latin Armenians	6,513,391
Members of the Russian Church	47,810,525
	64,000,000

C. The following table may be taken as a tolerably accurate statement of the whole number of Christians in the communion of the Eastern Catholic Church.

In Russia	47,810,525
Turkey, in the Patriarchate of Constantinople	12,000,000
Kingdom of Greece, &c.	800,000
Austrian dominions (in which there are besides, 3,485,298 Uniates who retain the Greek Rite)	2,790,941
Patriarchate of Alexandria	5,000
Patriarchate of Antioch	300,000
Patriarchate of Jerusalem	50,000
	63,756,466

IV. *An account of the re-union of the Uniates with the Orthodox Church in the Russian Empire. St. Petersburg Synodal Press*, 1839. *Printed by the direction of the Most Holy Synod.*

The Orthodox Church during the present year has inscribed on the tablets of her history one of the most important and most joyful events. Together with our beloved country she celebrates the return of those of her children to her embraces, who had been taken away from her by men of another faith, during their rule over them. The schism, which has been called the Unia, began in the western districts of Russia in 1596, through the defection of some part of the clergy at a council held at Brest-Litofsky from the orthodox faith, for the course of two centuries and a half divided the Russian family, descended from the same origin, and up to that period possessing the same faith, and was at length terminated in 1839, by an act of the council of Polotsk. What was this Unia? A means of keeping under spiritual subjection to the West a people who, having received from the East the imperishable doctrines and the primitive rites of the Christian faith, and with them the means of profiting by an intelligible Church service in their native tongue, did not choose, for the sake of any worldly advantages, to part with these holy pledges of the salvation of their souls. Such was the Russian people, always one and the same, in every part of their extensive country; when their western districts were temporarily subjected to the authority of the Lithuanians, every means were exhausted in vain to convert the inhabitants to the Romish faith. At length, a plan was devised, more successful than the rest, only because it allowed the people to remain, as far as externals were concerned, in the ancient faith of their fathers. A part of the Russian clergy were persuaded to acknowledge their dependence upon Rome, being allowed full liberty to retain all the rites, and almost all the regulations of the Eastern Church. And this kind of dependence received the name of Unia, that is, an union with the Western Church. But what fruits did this Unia produce to the Russian clergy and people? Internal discord, which unceasingly harassed them, till the districts they inhabited returned to the rule of the Emperor of All the Russias. The Unia, at first, only seduced the smaller portion of the inhabitants, but afterwards established itself more firmly, by persecuting the remainder.

But was the Unia advantageous even to Lithuania, and to Poland, which was united to her? No. Quite the contrary: it only proved how unnatural the alliance was, and prepared the way for the fall of both.

Such are the questions long since decided by history, which involuntarily come into the mind, when we cast a glance on the unfortunate issue of the false policy of Poland. The Uniate Church itself never enjoyed any prosperity; but like a branch, separated from its parent stock, and forcibly engrafted on a foreign tree, it lived with a kind of half life, or rather on the remains of its former life, and would have inevitably gradually died away from before the Latin Church.

But we must take a nearer view of the march of the Unia in Western Russia, to be fully convinced of the truth of this. But let us however first

devoutly turn our eyes to the true ancient Church of Christ, which by its life-giving spirit, embraces, preserves, and blesses our country, which is faithful to it.

The Church, one in the unity of the power of God, and universal in its different parts, has long since been governed by its spiritual pastors, under its one head the Saviour. No one of them ever imagined to appropriate unto himself individually the government of the whole world. No one of them, even in spiritual affairs, intruded on a district not subject to himself. But if he observed any aberrations from the faith, he corrected them by brotherly letters to the pastor of the district, or referred them to the common decision of the general councils of the Church, the rules of which, as the dictates of the Holy Spirit, which always abides with the Church, have been preserved inviolate, having once for all confirmed the doctrines of our faith, and determined the relationship of the different pastors to each other, and to the superior power of the sovereign. The Catholic Church remains hitherto the same, both as far as regards the ancient external appearance of its rites, as well as the internal spirit of its unchangeable doctrine. A profound respect for venerable antiquity has opposed itself to all innovations, and has procured for us the incomparable happiness of now seeing in it with our own eyes those very things which her children saw at the times of the Apostles, and of making the very same confessions of faith as they did. The holy doctrines of our faith, the offices of the priest, the prayers, the very robes of the ministers of the altar of our Lord, all breathe the first ages of Christianity; and the yearly circle of our services includes in its chauntings the full course of ancient orthodox Theology, serving as a perpetual and lively testament of the primitive Church to the remotest posterity. These holy hymns presented to the people in their own native tongue, have preserved amongst them the purity of the faith, and have consoled them in the midst of those misfortunes with which it has pleased Providence to visit their Church, recalling to their memory the times of the cruel persecutions of the earlier Christians. She (the Church) when preaching the cross of salvation, has never shewn forth the divine nature of the doctrines preserved by her by forcibly compelling others to embrace them, but by shedding her own blood in defence of them. She has suffered from the heathen, from cruel heresies, and the heavy yoke of the Mahometans, and as she formerly did, so also now she inwardly triumphs, by the power of the Spirit of God, over all outward storms. And all these different trials have not been unimproved by her; they have strengthened her in the loftier exercises of patience, and not allowed her to indulge in idle disputations on the unsearchable mysteries of God. Thus simple and complete, and as gold tried in the furnace, appears the Orthodox Church in the eyes of its Heavenly Founder. By His divine care she has experienced an unshaken attachment to herself in the empire of Russia, and has, in her turn, crowned it with glory and greatness. What a touching picture has Russia always exhibited from the first hour of her spiritual regeneration! No nation has ever embraced the holy faith with more gentleness, and quietness, and no one has adhered to it with more firmness. At the same time, the spirit of love and peace has prevailed in

this new branch of the Œcumenical Church over the spirit of blind zeal, and has not allowed her to defile herself with deeds of fanaticism. In our country we have never thought of propagating the faith by the dark powers of capital punishment, but the mild light of persuasion has quietly subjected her boundless provinces to the law of Christ over three parts of the world. And not one of these provinces has ever received the faith from preachers who bore the sword; on the contrary, very many of them have been subjected to it by preachers who have themselves suffered. But whilst Russia has thus distinguished herself by a rare patience in the faith, she has never admitted any doctrines inconsistent with Orthodoxy.

The invasion of the Tartars, renewing in her those dreadful scenes which history relates of the cruel Saracens in the East, not only did not shake her faith in Christ, but rather strengthened it, by decorating her Church with the holy crown of martyrdom. Who could then have imagined, that in the course of a few centuries, her faithful children would have been so cruelly persecuted for their Orthodoxy, by Christians? nay, even by their very brethren, by men of the same origin with themselves? But under the Tartar yoke was concealed the remote cause of this. For it gave up the Western districts of Russia to the power of Lithuania; and their separation from their common country, naturally brought with it the division of the Russian hierarchy; and through it the unity of the faith, yea, true Catholic Church communion, and the bond of love, were almost broken. Thus nearly from the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the instance of Lithuania, metropolitans were already appointed independent of those of Moscow, but still, like them, continuing to be subject to the patriarch of Constantinople; notwithstanding the convulsion caused in the ecclesiastical and political world, by the fruitless attempts of the Florentine Council, and the lamentable fall of the illustrious Byzantium. A century after this, the union of Poland with Lithuania, exposed the Western parts of Russia to religious dissensions, and their bitter fruits, which are inscribed in bloody characters on the pages of the History of the Russian Church and nation. The constant residence of the court at Warsaw, gave a preponderating influence to the Polish party over the Russian, in the meetings of the Paspolite, and this was the more so, because the one was inferior to the other in the extent of cultivated country and in population; also from the very mode of their operations, as we shall hereafter see. The Russian nobility of Lithuania imitated the court, having then no better model to copy; and thus began, by degrees, to borrow their morals, their habits, their language, and lastly their religion itself from Poland: and this last the Polish government and the local Romish clergy, particularly, promoted by compulsory means. The first (the government) without looking to the equality of rights, which had been more than once confirmed in the Diet, degraded the Orthodox nobility, in comparison with those who were attached to the Romish faith. The second, the clergy, aimed to rule over the whole of the Russian part of Lithuania; and expected to get possession of her rich property and revenues. The Orthodox were converted into Latin Churches, and it was forbidden to build new ones. Many of the ancient princely and noble families being persecuted on account of their religion,

emigrated into Great Russia. The clergy were oppressed, and bore it with patience; repelling all the open attacks of Romanism, which, however, at length made its way into her bosom, under the cloak of the Unia.

In 1590, in the reign of Sigismund III., a blind zealot of Rome, and a destroyer of the prosperity of Poland, two bishops of the south-western parts of Russia, Cyrill Tirletsky, who was dissatisfied with the patriarch of Constantinople, for his severe reproof of his own vicious life, and Hypatius Potsi, a fit ally of Cyrill, were the first who entertained the idea of adhering to the Romish Church; thereby hoping to obtain the powerful protection of the king, and the Diet. They also persuaded Michael Ragosa, the timid metropolitan of Kieff, to adopt the same measure. All the clergy of Western Russia were brought into agitation by this act, and having assembled in 1596 at Brest, were divided in their sentiments. Some, together with the exarchs of the patriarch, remained unshaken in their Orthodoxy;—others, with the Metropolitan Ragosa, inclined to Rome. From those times, down to our own, two Churches have existed in Lithuania, one under the name of the Orthodox, the other under that of the Uniate; and each had its own succession of metropolitans.

To tranquillize the consciences of those who had adhered to the Unia, no external changes were at first introduced into divine service; they were even permitted to sing the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed in their churches without any addition; and to attach the nobility and clergy more strongly to it, they were promised the enjoyment of peculiar rights and privileges. The Court of Rome even undertook to procure for the Uniate bishops the right of sitting in the Polish senate:—and that they might entertain no fears for the integrity of their flocks, they were strictly forbidden to embrace the Roman Faith (Rite). But, notwithstanding all this, the Unia made but little progress: a new method was then devised, for giving it more effect. It was decided, that Latin monks should go into the Russian monasteries, assume the Greek habits, and perform all the rites of the Eastern Church, in the Slavonian language. Imperceptibly all the religious houses of the Uniates were filled with these agitators from the West; and thus their simulated monachism entered into the number of the orders of the Roman Church, under the title of the Especial Order of St. Basil. Thus a path was opened to the disguised Romish clergy, by which they might, without impediment, attain to the chair of professors, or to the episcopal throne.

Then the rites and the regulations of the Uniate Church began to be changed: instead of the ancient liturgy, short services, which were read, were introduced: the Church Chaunting, which was intelligible to every one, was changed for the sound of musical instruments[d]. The very appearance of the Uniate temples was deteriorated, both in the inside, and on the outside. Lastly, the government of the Church was reformed on the model of the Western; and the Polish language was brought into common use.

Fanaticism exerted itself in every way to make the Uniates aliens both

[d] A great part of the Russian services are chaunted; musical instruments are not allowed in their Churches, where the human voice alone is heard; and those who have heard the perfection to which their singing is brought, do not complain of the want of instruments.

to their religion and to their country, Russia. But whilst, in the course of two centuries, she attained this end, she could boast of no success with regard to the Orthodox Church: she therefore expelled its professors into Lithuania and Southern Russia. In vain did brave men, such as the illustrious Prince Constantine Ostrojsky, shed their blood for Poland on the field of battle, expecting from her laws the protection of their religion. In vain was the cry of our poor co-religionists raised in the Diets, that, in their case, the very laws of the kingdom, as well as the rights of humanity itself, were perverted. Neither the declaration of the wisest of the Poles, that their country was digging her own grave and ruining her own power, nor the exertions of the very legates of the pope to soften the hardness of their hearts, had any success. The measure of their sufferings was completed; and Russia drank of them as from a full cup. The best monasteries and churches, with their property, were taken away, for the profit of the Unia or the Romish clergy. In villages and small places the proprietors could with impunity subject the Orthodox servants of the altar to vexatious interrogatories; and thus entire circles remained without any clergy, without the offering of the Bloodless Sacrifice, or any of the consolations of religion. In the towns the priests did not dare to go to the sick with the sacred Mysteries, or to bury the dead. They were not always safe even in their churches themselves, and it was scarcely possible for them to lead the processions with the cross through the towns, or if they did (and this continued till the very latest period) they were met and followed by the wild Polish youth, who hissed and hooted them, and often even threw mud and stones at them. Such actions would be incredible were they not recorded in cotemporary annals, and even remembered by old men. In Little Russia the persecution knew no bounds. The Orthodox, without any exception, were forbidden to discharge any civil offices, and all the churches that had not embraced the Unia were given in lease to the Jews, who extorted money from the priests for every time they performed divine service, for every act of spiritual duty, for every time the bells were rung, and even for every prosphora[e] for the celebration of the Mysteries representing the sufferings of Christ, on which they put a mark either with chalk or coal. Thus the fanaticism of the Poles again betrayed their Saviour to the insults of the Jews, imagining, with a lamentable error, that they were so promoting the service of God. Vain were all the complaints of the oppressed. In despair, they determined to make a stand for the faith of their fathers, degraded in this intolerable manner. A bloody struggle ensued, which, besides the horrors of war, afforded Warsaw the spectacle of inhuman executions, so inhuman that the very mention of them is enough to make the blood run cold. Some were boiled alive in cauldrons, some burnt on coals, others spitted on sharp spits, or torn to pieces with iron cats. And these executions were imitated in Little Russia on children, and those who were grown up, without any distinction, unreasonably and without authority[f].

[e] "Prosphora" i. e. "oblation;" the small loaves, or cakes of bread which are offered at the Eucharist.

[f] The above-mentioned events have been related, more or less circumstantially, in the histories of Russia and Poland: particularly in the cotemporary journals. Extracts from

This unhappy country only found rest under the rule of the sovereigns of All the Russias. Little Russia flew to them for protection; this ought, one would think, to have opened the eyes of the blinded government of Poland; and after this lesson, all such atrocities in the other districts should have been prevented. But unfortunately, there also Russia continued to suffer in both divisions of her Church. The Uniates persecuted the Orthodox, and themselves in their turn suffered from the Romanists. For only the superior monastic clergy of the Uniates, who, for the greater part, had come into the Unia from the Romish faith, enjoyed any estimation at Warsaw, (though the bishops, notwithstanding all their efforts, could never obtain their promised seats in the senate,) but the more numerous portion of the clergy, that is, the White, (or, the parish priests,) who had voluntarily given up the language and rites of their ancestors, were disliked, degraded, left in poverty, and as far as was possible in ignorance. If Orthodoxy was treated as an orphan in the speeches of the Pospolite, Uniatism did not profit by its love; and from the contempt in which it was held, it was called, and is so even to the present times, the Serfs' Faith. It did not receive any vital strength from the Latin Church, but on the contrary, brought to her the sacrifice of its own. The disgrace of remaining in communion with the Uniates caused many of the nobility, and of the mercantile classes themselves, to profess the Roman Catholic faith. The entire annihilation of Uniatism was meditated; and at last, it was only tolerated for this reason, because it was easier to convert the Orthodox to it, than to Romanism; and according to a just description at the time, to serve as a bridge for passing over from the true religion to the Roman Catholic faith.

Such was the state of both divisions of the Russian Church in those parts till that period, when this ancient possession of Russia was restored to her under the fortunate and ever-memorable reign of Her Majesty the Empress Catherine the Second. Our brethren, of the same faith with ourselves, then revived, both in their civil and spiritual life. And when full permission was given to the Uniates to return, without risk, to the bosom of the Church of their ancestors, a large portion at that time took advantage of the earliest opportunity of doing it; and this too the more willingly, because many of them, particularly in Volhynia and Podolia, and in other places, had some few years before this been compelled to embrace Uniatism. The remainder, together with their clergy, under the direction of their well-intentioned pastor, the Metropolitan Heraclius Lisofsky, were preparing to take the same step towards this desirable union. And although from the circumstances of the times, the intentions of this remarkable man, who was so zealous for the Eastern Church, were not accomplished; and although, at that time, there remained about two millions of people of the same blood with ourselves, who did not embrace the advantages of a more close union with our country, still the actual situation of the Uniates themselves was much improved. The White (parochial) clergy found a protection in Russia from the Romish clergy, whose progress in conversion was stopped

these have lately been printed in a periodical publication of Cracow, called the Kwartalnik Naukovy.—*Note by the Author.*

by an order forbidding all changing from the one faith to the other, and vice versâ. The after measures of the Russian government aimed, as far as it was possible, to guard this Church, which was so near to us, from those who were opposed to the spirit of her Eastern origin. But only at the present time has it been permitted to complete this important affair, by her entire return to the bosom of Orthodoxy.

The Emperor by the blessing of God now reigning, in the midst of his innumerable cares for the institutions and the prosperity of the greatest empire in the world, from the first days of his accession to the throne, had never ceased to turn his attention to the Uniates, who have always formed a portion of the Russian people. The first action of his prudent care for them was, the complete assimilation of the Greek Uniate Church with the Roman Catholic in all its rights and privileges. On the 22nd of April, 1828, a Spiritual College was established for them, on the model of the College which manages the affairs of the Roman Catholics, under the presidency of Josaphat Bulgak, the metropolitan of the Uniate Churches in Russia. The Republic of Poland might, either with or without cause, have feared the elevation of the Uniates as belonging to the Russian race, which was foreign to them: but this cause of fear does not exist for Russia: she received them under her special protection; and as their Church had only just begun to feel her own independent existence, she, according to the laws of attraction between elements of the same nature, inclined to the bosom of her true mother, the Church of All the Russias. All the measures of the bishops and other spiritual authorities of the Uniates tended to the same end. Openly confessing that a multitude of innovations had crept into their Church in the course of time, they resolutely determined to restore the buildings of their temples to their original form, and to provide them with all the requisites for the performance of the ancient service. Instead of church-books, which were full of mistakes, and of different editions, from which the Slavonian language had been long since banished, they resolved to introduce into all their churches books of the same form, of a new and carefully revised edition; and lastly, not to appoint any one to any office in the Church, without a strict previous examination as to his competent knowledge of the rites and regulations of the Eastern Church. And all of them, themselves, with unwearied zeal, and a rare success, spread abroad this knowledge among the clergy who were under them. On the other hand, the whole of the rising generation of the White (parochial) clergy received the true Eastern direction for their studies in the two newly-established seminaries, and in the twenty district and parochial schools. Justice requires me to say that such a direction could not be acceptable to those monks who had passed over from the Romish faith to the Unia; but, that there might be no oppression in matters of conscience, full liberty was given to each individual during five years to return to his former Church; and those who desired it profited by this permission. The adherents of Orthodoxy and patriotism after this acted with greater zeal; and quickly the whole of the Uniate Church, by its glorious transformation, shewed itself worthy of its ancient descent. Already Divine service was everywhere celebrated at altars erected according to our rules by priests in suitable

robes, with an observance of our most magnificent rites, which recall to one's mind the Primitive Church; and the Uniates, attending on them with pleasure, and already hearing the Word of God in their native tongue, no longer saw any difference between their own and the Orthodox temples; and they found nothing strange in this, for, notwithstanding the untowardness of their destiny, they, even before this, had never ceased to call themselves and their religion Russian.

In the midst of these almost incredible advances of the Greek Uniate Church, on the road which led to her true happiness, she was deprived of her chief shepherd, the Most Reverend Metropolitan Josaphat. His place was filled by the senior member of the Spiritual College of the Uniates, Joseph, bishop of Lithuania. In the mean time, the work, which had been begun and continued with such lively zeal, with such activity and celerity, approached to its conclusion. The present year, 1839, arrived, and the 12th of February of this year will be for ever memorable in the annals of the Church of All the Russias. On that day, on which in the course of events she (the Church) celebrated the week of Orthodoxy (the first Sunday of the Great Fast), all the Greek Uniate Bishops in Russia being assembled, together with the more distinguished of the clergy, signed an act, in which they, having expressed their heartfelt wish to belong to the Church of their ancestors, determined to petition their most august monarch for orders to put this their wish into execution[g]. To this act they appended the testimonials of the clergy of the several districts, under their own hands, that they were animated with the same feelings of attachment to ancient Orthodoxy. This action they concluded by offering up most fervent prayers in the cathedral church of Polotsk to the supreme Head of the Church, our Lord Jesus Christ, that He would grant success to their warmest endeavours to put an end, in His holy name, to the division of the Russian Churches; and they entrusted the act, with their most humble petition[h], to Joseph, bishop of Litofsky, the senior prelate, to carry it to the capital and lay it before the eyes of the emperor, through the Count Pratasoff, the Ober-Procuror of the Most Holy Synod, who had before had the management of the temporal affairs of their Confession.

The emperor having received this intelligence, so pleasing to his pious heart, with deep feelings of gratitude to the King of kings, was pleased to order the act which had been presented to him, with the appendices, to be taken to the Holy Synod for their examination, and for rendering them conformable to the institutions of the Holy Church[i]. The Most Holy Synod having received from the hand of their most august monarch these pledges of the salutary decisions of the Greek Uniate clergy, and having glorified their Chief Shepherd who is in heaven for this new increase to His true flock, decided to receive the bishops, the priesthood, and the whole flock hitherto belonging to the Greek Uniate Church into the full and entire communion of the Holy Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church, and into an inseparable union with the Church of All the Russias, and to present this act[k] of the synod, in a most humble report[l],

[g] See Appendix No. I. [h] See Appendix No. II. [i] See Appendix No. III.
[k] See Appendix No. IV. [l] See Appendix No. V.

to his majesty the emperor. On the 25th day of March, the festival of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Mother of God, and on the eve of the greatest festival of the Church, the Resurrection of our Lord God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, the report of the Synod was confirmed by the supreme resolution of His Majesty, written with his own hand: "[m] I thank God, and accept it." And the good news imperceptibly spread that the numerous clergy and laity of the Greek Uniates inhabiting the western districts of Russia had risen into a new life, had become connected, as far as heavenly interests were concerned, in the closest spiritual union with the ancient Œcumenical church of Christ; as far as earthly, with Russia, the ancient country of their forefathers.

The supreme consent of the emperor was read on the 30th of March, in a full assembly of the Synod; and when, after this, the order was issued for giving effect to the will of our monarch, the Ober-Procuror of the Most Holy Synod, conducted Joseph, the bishop of Litofsky, into their sitting, and the senior member, Seraphim, metropolitan of Novogorod and St. Petersburgh, informed him of what had been effected, and complimented him in the name of the Church of All the Russias, as the representative of the reunited clergy, on so desirable an event. Philaret, metropolitan of Kieff and Gallicia, read the decree[n] of the Synod, to the reunited bishops and clergy, which was delivered by the Most Holy Metropolitan Seraphim into the hands of the Bishop Joseph. Philaret, metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna, read to him the supreme Confirmation of the decree of the Synod[o], changing the name of the Greek Uniate Spiritual College, to that of the Litofsky College of White Russia, constituting Joseph its president, and raising him to the rank of an archbishop. The Most Reverend Joseph, on his part, presented the thanks of the whole body of those who had been reunited to the Church; and after mutually kissing each other, they repaired to the Synodal Church, where the rest of the clergy awaited them, when they immediately offered up solemn prayers of thanksgiving to Almighty God, invoking long life on the glorious Defender of the Russian Church, her collected rulers, and the Orthodox patriarchs of the Œcumenical Church. At this solemn moment, the assembly of our chief pastors, the metropolitans and archbishops of Novogorod, Kieff, Moscow, Kazan, Pskoff, and Lithuania, represented in themselves the Church of all the Russias, who, with zealous affection offered her embraces to her children reunited to her, and called on their Divine Chief Shepherd Himself and His whole Church, both in earth and heaven, as witnesses of their joy.

This animating spectacle in the city of St. Peter, was again to be repeated in the centre of the reunited dioceses, and the first opportunity for doing it was offered by the journey of Philaret, metropolitan of Kieff, to his own diocese, through the city of Vitebsk. On the 14th of May, the festival of the Holy Trinity, the cathedral church of that place, dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, first exhibited within its walls the solemn fraternal communion of the ancient Orthodox clergy, with that of the reunited. The Most Reverend Philaret performed the liturgy toge-

[m] In Latin, Ago Deo Gratias et accipio.

[n] See Appendix No. VI.

[o] See Appendix No. V.

ther with Isidore, bishop of Polotsk, and Vasili, bishop of Orsha, who presided over the reunited diocese of White Russia, with eight priests from both dioceses, four from each. An immense number of people came to witness this solemn festival of the Church, and joined with fervor and great attention in this by them hitherto unseen form of worship, and when, after the conclusion of the liturgy and the vespers, the Decree of the Most Holy Synod for their reunion was read, concluding with those touching words of the monarch—"I thank God and accept it"—they who were present were so effected that their eyes were bedewed with tears of joy.

On this the metropolitan, standing on the Ambon, between the prelates of both dioceses, cried out with a loud voice unto God, "Glory be to Thee, who hast shewn us light, &c.," the hymn of praise; and "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will towards men," long resounded through the arches of the Church. On the next day, that on which the festival for the Holy Spirit is continued by the Orthodox Church, the Most Reverend Metropolitan, after receiving those citizens who belonged to the reunited diocese, celebrated the divine liturgy and the prayers with the same bishops in the reunited cathedral church of the chiefs of the Apostles, Peter and Paul. Other towns of the Western governments, as Polotsk, Velije, Suraje, Orsha, Minsk, Wilna, Jirovitsa, soon became witnesses of the united services of both descriptions of clergy, who, for this express purpose collected together from the neighbouring places to the number of 50, 80, and even 150 parish priests. And their flocks entirely sympathised with them; recalling to mind the devotion and mutual love of the first Christians.

Every where the Uniate flock, as well the old Orthodox, crowded together to receive the blessing of the united prelates; who, on leaving their churches, were sometimes obliged to go on foot for a whole hour, to satisfy their affectionate zeal. In these wonderful events every one saw a confirmation of this undisputed truth "that all things return to their origin;" for the reunion of the Greek Uniate Church with the Orthodox, brought nothing substantially new to either party; relation returned to relation, the lawful heritage to the lawful authority. At present the clergy of the two Churches, or to speak more accurately, of one and the same Church offer up, in unity, the Unbloody Sacrifice to the Almighty, throughout the whole extent of the united dioceses; in the same places, where once the blood-stained sacrifices of a cruel fanaticism perished. Means of persuasion were introduced instead of the ungodly measures of the former evil times; and in the same degree as the separation of the children from the breast of their mother was dreadful, so now was their return to it rendered every where easy and pleasant. Old wounds were healed;—the doctrines of our faith confirmed;—the mind and conscience pacified. A whole branch of the Russian Church, denominated the Unia, has returned to the true Catholic unity, and Russia having greatly advanced in the cause of religion, by the wise solicitude and the pious example of her most august monarch, turns with him to pour out her feelings of gratitude before the heavenly Author of this his peaceful triumph, which is destined to bring with it innumerable benefits. From this time we may boldly say that with the exception of that part

which is especially called Lithuania and Jmudi[p], the whole of the original population of the Western districts of the empire is not only Russian, but also Orthodox, and vain would be any endeavours of our enemies to assert the contrary, in opposition to historical truth and the actual state of the matter. Such sentiments will find no response in the original inhabitants of those countries, who recollect their origin, their language, and their ancient faith.

Appendices to the above.

I.

We, by the grace of God, the bishops and assembly of ordained clergy of the Greek Uniate Church in Russia, after frequent consultations, have come to the following determination:

Our Church was originally in unity with that Holy, Apostolical, Catholic Church, which was planted by our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ in the East, and from the East enlightened the world; and which has hitherto preserved entire and unchanged the divine doctrines which were taught by Christ, adding nothing to them from the spirit of human sophistry.

In this happy, most desirable, and Catholic union, our Church formed an undivided portion of the Grecko-Russian Church, as our ancestors, both from their language and descent, always had formed an undivided part of the Russian nation. But the deplorable separation of the districts inhabited by us from our mother, from Russia, separated our ancestors also from the true Catholic unity; and the violence of foreign rule subjected them to the power of the Romish Church, under the denomination of Uniates. But, although the service of the Eastern Church in our native tongue, all the sacred rites, and the regulations of the Eastern Church, were guaranteed to them by formal acts: and even their conversion to the Romish Faith forbidden, (a clear proof how pure and unchanged our Eastern canons were acknowledged to be:) yet the cunning policy of the Republic of Poland, and the wishes of the local Romish priesthood, which were in conformity with it, who could not endure the spirit of the Russian people, and the ancient rites of the Orthodox East, directed all their powers to efface if it were possible all the traces of the ancient origin of our nation and Church. From this double effort, our ancestors, after they had embraced the Unia, were exposed to the greatest misery. The nobility, circumscribed in their rights, passed over to the Romish communion: the tradesmen and peasantry, who would not part with those customs of their ancestors, which were still preserved in the Unia, suffered grievous oppression. But very soon our usages, our regulations, and the service of our Church itself, began to be sensibly altered: and instead of them, those of the Romish Church were introduced in their place, which were by no means adapted to it.

The Greek Uniate parochial clergy, deprived of the means of instructing themselves, in poverty, and in disgrace, were worked upon by the Romish priesthood; and would have been at length exposed to the danger of being

[p] It would seem, by the note p. 43, that these districts have since joined with the rest of their brethren.

entirely perverted and annihilated, if the Almighty had not put a stop to their lengthened sufferings, by restoring to the Russian rule the districts we inhabited, the ancient patrimony of Russia. Taking advantage of this so fortunate an event, the greater part of the Uniates immediately joined the Orthodox Eastern Catholic Church, and form at the present moment, as they did before, an inseparable part of the Russian Church; and the remainder found in the beneficent government of Russia a protection, as far as it was possible, from the overpowering influence of the Romish priesthood. But we are indebted for that entire independence of our Church, and for those abundant means of educating the youthful aspirants to sacred orders we now enjoy, as well as for the renovation and increasing splendour of our holy temples, in which the service of God is performed in the language of our ancestors, and our sacred rites restored to their ancient purity, to the paternal generosity and protection of the most pious sovereign, now reigning by the blessing of God, our Emperor Nicolai Pavlovich. The canons of our Church, once Eastern, once Russian, are every where being by degrees restored to their former authority. Our only remaining wish is, that these regulations, so agreeable to God, should be permanently established for all the Uniate inhabitants of Russia: that, in the complete restoration of their former unity with the Russian Church, her ancient children may, on the breast of their true mother, find that repose, and those means of advancing their spiritual interests, of which they were deprived during the period of their alienation from her. Although we were formerly separated from our ancient mother, the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern, and particularly the Russian Church, yet, by the goodness of the Lord, we were not so much so in our feelings, as in our dependance on a foreign power, and by other unhappy circumstances. But now, by the grace of an all-merciful God, we have drawn so near to her that we have not so much need of renewing as of declaring our union with her.

Having therefore, with ardent prayers proceeding from our hearts, invoked to our aid the grace of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is the one true Head of the one true Church; and the Holy and All-Creating Spirit, we have firmly and unalterably decided;

1stly. To acknowledge anew the unity of our Church with the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church; and consequently, henceforward, together with the flocks entrusted to our care, to continue in the same sentiments with the Holy, Eastern, Orthodox patriarchs; and in obedience to the Holy Governing Synod of All the Russias.

2dly. Most humbly to entreat our most pious sovereign, the emperor, to take this, our present decision, under his most august protection; and to promote its fulfilment, for the peace and salvation of our souls, by his supreme inspection, and the exercise of his sovereign will; that we, with all the rest of the Russian people under his beneficent rule, may, with one heart, with united and undivided voices praise the Triune God, according to the ancient apostolical order, according to the rules of the Holy General Councils, and according to the tradition of the great saints and teachers of the Orthodox, Catholic Church.

In testimony of which we, and all the clergy who exercise any authority

in our Church, confirm this our Synodal act, by our own authentic signatures: and for an assurance of the consent of the rest of the Greek Uniate clergy, we affix the respective declarations of one thousand three hundred and five parish priests and monastic brethren, signed with their own hands[c].

Given, in the divinely-preserved city of Polotsk, in the year seven thousand three hundred and forty-seven, from the creation of the world; and from the Incarnation of God, the Word, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, this 12th day of February, the Week of Orthodoxy.

(Signed),

The Humble JOSEPH, Bishop of Lithuania.

The Humble VASILI, Bishop of Orsha, and administering the diocese of White Russia.

The Humble ANTHONY, Bishop of Brest, and vicar of the diocese of Lithuania.

After these follow 21 other signatures at length of the different dignitaries of the Greek Uniate Church.

II.

Most August Monarch,
Most Gracious Sovereign,

In these troublesome times, when the Western districts of Lithuania were forcibly separated from Russia and united to Poland, the Orthodox Russian inhabitants were exposed to heavy trials, from the persevering efforts of the Polish government and the Court of Rome to separate them from the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church, and to unite them to the Western. Individuals of the highest station in life, having been circumscribed by every means, in their rights, embraced the Romish communion, which was foreign to them, and forgot their own descent and nationality. The tradesmen and peasantry were forcibly separated from their communion with the Eastern Church by means of the Unia, which was introduced towards the conclusion of the sixteenth century.

From the period that this people was separated from its mother Russia, the persevering devices of policy and fanaticism aimed to alienate them more and more from their ancient country: and the Uniates experienced in its full force the weight of a foreign yoke. But when her ancient heritage was restored to Russia, the greater part of the Uniates joined themselves to the Church of their ancestors, the Greco-Russian Church; and the remainder found a defence and protection against the influence of the Romish priesthood.

Under the blessed reign of your Imperial Majesty, and through your beneficent inspection, O most gracious monarch, the services of God and the regulations of the Eastern Church were almost entirely restored to their former purity. The aspirants to holy orders received an education

[c] Soon after this, the number of these declarations amounted to 1607: so that there does not now remain in Russia a single parish of the Greek Uniates that has not participated in this act.—*Note by the Editor.*

suitable to their future destination; they even already had become, and might have called themselves Russians.

The Greek Uniate Church in its separate existence in the midst of other Confessions, could never have attained to its full and perfect nature, nor to that peace which was indispensably necessary to its prosperity; and the numerous inhabitants of the Western governments who belonged to her, Russians by language and origin, were exposed to the danger of remaining in a position liable to be agitated by every change of circumstance, and of being estranged from their Orthodox brethren.

This cause as well as our anxiety for the eternal benefit of the flock entrusted to us, have induced us, being firmly persuaded of the truth of the doctrines of the Holy, Apostolic, Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church, to throw ourselves at the feet of your Imperial Majesty, and most humbly to pray you, O most powerful monarch, to avert this fate from the Uniates, by granting your permission to them to unite themselves with the Orthodox Church of All the Russias, which was the Church of our ancestors. In testimony of our common agreement on this point, we have the happiness of presenting a Synodal Act of this date which was composed by us bishops and the rest of the clergy who have authority in the Church, in the city of Polotsk: and to this, have been added the respective declarations of 1305 individuals of the Greek Uniate clergy, signed with their own hands.

(Signed),

JOSEPH, Bishop of Lithuania.

BASIL, Bishop of Orsha, and administering the diocese of White Russia

ANTHONY, Bishop of Brest, and vicar of the diocese of Lithuania.

Polotsk, 12th February, 1839.

III.

Oukáz, to the Most Holy Synod.

The bishops of the Greek Uniate Church of our empire, have presented to us, by the Count Pratasoff, Ober-Procuror of the Most Holy Synod, who before had the management of the ecclesiastical affairs of this Confession, a petition, for permission for themselves, as well as for the flocks entrusted to their care, to unite themselves with the Orthodox Church of their progenitors; from which their ancestors were forcibly separated during the troublesome period of the dominion of Poland over those Western districts of Russia which they inhabit. Together with this, they have presented to us a Synodal Act, composed by them and the rest of the clergy of their dioceses, who have authority in the Church, in the city of Polotsk, dated the 12th day of February, in which they manifest their firm determination to acknowledge the unity of their Church with the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church, and to submit to the authority of the Most Holy Governing Synod of All the Russias; and as a proof of their agreement on this point, and of that of all the remainder of the clergy, they have affixed to the act the declarations of 1305 of the parochial clergy and monastic brethren, signed with their own hands.

Having returned thanks, from the bottom of my soul, to Almighty God, who has put it into the hearts of so numerous a body of clergy, once Russian, together with their flocks, to return into the bosom of their true mother, the Orthodox Church; I have ordered the Ober-Procuror to lay the Act and the Declaration before the Most Holy Synod for their examination and decision, in conformity with the institutions of the Holy Church.

(Signed by His I. M's. own hand,)

NICOLAI.

St. Petersburgh, 1st March, 1839.

IV.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

On the sixth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1839, by the supreme command of our sovereign, the Emperor Nicolai Pavlovich, Autocrat of All the Russias, a synodal Act, framed on the 12th day of February just past, by the bishops and the rest of the clergy of that Church in Russia, which has hitherto been called the Greek Uniate, was presented to the Governing Synod of All the Russias, in which they having first set forth their ancient and original unity with the Holy Apostolic, Orthodox, Catholic Church in general, and particularly with the Russian Church, and then their involuntary alienation from this unity, by forcible separation in the time of their ancestors from the power of Russia, solemnly declare their firm and immutable resolution to acknowledge anew the unity of their Church with the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church, and to continue from henceforward, together with the flocks entrusted to them, in the same sentiments with the Holy Eastern Orthodox Patriarchs, and in obedience to the Holy Governing Synod of All the Russias. And this their resolution they have placed under the august protection of our most religious sovereign the emperor.

This Act is signed by all the Greek Uniate Bishops in Russia; also by the superior clergy; and for an assurance of the general consent of the rest of the Greek Uniate clergy, the declarations of 1305 priests and monks have been appended, signed with their own hands. On hearing this the first and unanimous movement of the Most Holy Synod was to render praise and thanksgiving to God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who by the inscrutable ways of His providence has continually promoted the fulfilment of His faithful promise, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against His true Church! for the various continued, and to outward appearance, successful efforts of man, to alienate from the Orthodox Church of Russia no small number of those who were of the same faith and of the same race, He has even now brought to nought, having first put it into the heart of our most pious sovereign the Emperor Nicolai Pavlovich to defend the Greek Uniate community from foreign influence, and then by His invisible power moved the heart of those who had been alienated to return to their original and true Orthodox, Catholic unity, with the free agreement of a numerous clergy, who on this point were all of one mind: which event will form a remarkable example in the annals of our Church.

Entering into a closer examination of the subject before them, the Most Holy Synod has taken the following points into its consideration:

The forcible separation of the so-called Greek Uniates in Russia from the Orthodox Eastern Church, proceeded entirely from the alienation of their hierarchy from her communion. But they have still preserved the ancient Eastern order of divine service and its sacred rites, which, being imbued with the spirit of the Orthodox doctrines and traditions, resisted, by their internal strength, the utter annihilation of the former unity, although it was externally destroyed by subjection to a foreign power.

Although in the course of time this order began to be altered by external influence, by which the difference between the subtleties of men and the pure ancient doctrines became more marked, yet, as soon as ever they were protected from foreign powers, the heads of the Greek Uniate Church instantly exerted themselves for her restoration to her ancient purity: and this was particularly evident to the Most Holy Synod in the year 1834, when all the Greek Uniate bishops, with one voice, decided to borrow the more important books for divine service of the Most Holy Synod; and in this respect they were then gratified.

The solemn confession in the Synodal Act which they have framed, that our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ is the *One true Head* of the one true Church, and the promise to continue in the same sentiments with the Most Holy, Eastern, Orthodox Patriarchs, and the Most Holy Synod, leave us nothing to require from the members of the Greek-Uniate Church, for a real and substantial union of faith; and therefore nothing remains which can prevent the union of the hierarchy.

Judging thus, the Most Holy Synod, by the grace, the gift, and the power bestowed on them by the great God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the holy and All-Creating Spirit, decree and ordain,—

1. To receive the bishops, clergy, and spiritual flocks, of the hitherto called Greek Uniate Church, into full and complete communion with the Holy Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church, and so as to be integrally and inseparably incorporated with the Church of All the Russias:

2. To confer the general blessing of the Most Holy Synod on the bishops and clergy in particular, with prayers of faith and love to the Supreme Bishop of our Confession, Jesus Christ, that He would confirm them from above in the confession they have made, and that He would rightly direct the work of their ministry, to the perfecting of the saints:

3. That in the governing those flocks which are entrusted to them, they shall take as their fundamental guide the word of God, the canons of the Church, and the laws of the empire; and shall confirm the flocks entrusted to them in the same sentiments with those of the Orthodox faith; and that they exhibit an apostolical indulgence to any differences in local customs, which do not affect the doctrines or the sacraments, and bring them back to the ancient uniformity by free persuasion, without violence, with gentleness and long-suffering.

In conclusion, the Most Holy Synod have decided to offer their thanks to their most religious sovereign, the Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, on the part of the Church of All the Russias for the assistance he

has afforded in the good and Christian commencement of this affair, which is calculated to promote the salvation of men's souls: and after this, humbly to refer the accomplishment of this Synodal resolution to his authoritative protection, and to issue a Synodal Letter for the information of the Most Reverend the re-united bishops, and for conferring a blessing upon them.

Written in the divinely-preserved and imperial city of St. Peter, in the year seven thousand three hundred and forty-seven from the creation of the world, and from the incarnation of God, the Word, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine.

(Signed)

The Humble SERAPHIM, Metropolitan of Novogorod and St. Petersburgh.
The Humble PHILARET, Metropolitan of Kieff and Gallicia.
The Humble PHILARET, Metropolitan of Moscow.
The Humble JONAH, Metropolitan.
The Humble VLADIMIR, Archbishop of Kazan.
The Humble NATHANIEL, Archbishop of Pskoff.
NICOLAI MOUZOFSKOY, Confessor and Proto-presbyter.
VASILI KOUTNEVICH, Arch-Priest.

V.

(On the original is written with His Imperial Majesty's own hand:)

"I thank God, and accept it."

(Signed) NICOLAS.

St. Petersburgh, 25th March, 1839.

To the Most Illustrious, Governing, Great, and Ruling Sovereign, the Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias.

The most humble Report of the Synod.

By a supreme Oukaz, issued in your name the first of this month, your Imperial Majesty was pleased to command the Synod to enter into an examination of the Synodal Act framed by the Bishops and other clergy of the Greek Uniate Church in Russia, for its reunion with the Church of All the Russias.

The Synod has entered into an examination of this affair, with an attention corresponding to its importance: and most humbly presents this its Decree concerning the reception of the Greek Uniate Church, in Russia, into a full and complete communion with the Holy, Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church, and into an inseparable union with the Church of All the Russias as set forth in the act of the Synod, presented together with this to the gracious examination of your Imperial Majesty, and to your powerful protection, for its fulfilment.

Most Gracious Sovereign! The Synod, filled with spiritual consolation and gratitude to God at this event, who has poured down benefits on His Church, and blessings on the reign of your Majesty, dutifully congratulate your Imperial Majesty, in the name of the Church of All the Russias, on this peaceable triumph, on the spiritual reunion of so many of the sons

of Russia, so agreeable to the natural and civil unity between them; and at the same time offer up their thanks to your Imperial Majesty for those previous provident arrangements, which opened to the Greek Uniate Church a free and unimpeded path to return to the embraces of her ancient and true mother, the Church of All the Russias.

Having turned their attention to the consequences of this union, the Synod decides;

1. That the government of the reunited dioceses, and the spiritual schools belonging to them, remain on their former foundation until by a closer examination we can decide in what better and more suitable manner they can be rendered comformable with the government of the ancient Orthodox dioceses;

2. To place the Greek Uniate Spiritual College in relation with the Most Holy Synod according to the order of the hierarchy, on the footing of the Kontórs of the Holy Synod at Moscow, and in Gruzia and Imeritia; and to call it the Spiritual College of Lithuania and White Russia;

3. That Joseph, Bishop of Lithuania, should be president of the Spiritual College of Lithuania and White Russia; and that he should be raised to the rank of an archbishop.

Most Gracious Sovereign;

The Synod, on presenting this decree for your most gracious inspection, most humbly beg of your Majesty to grant them an Oukáz.

Your most humble subjects;

Then follow the signatures as before.

VI.

By the grace of God, the Most Holy Governing Synod of All the Russias,

To the beloved in God, the bishops Joseph of Lithuania, Vasili of Orsha, Anthony of Brest, with their priesthood and spiritual flock, grace be to you, and peace from God the Father, from our Lord Jesus Christ, and from the Holy Spirit.

Blessed be God, who has put into your hearts right, good, and saving thoughts of peace, and has thus given us the consolation of offering to you in return the words of peace and love.

As painful indeed as it formerly was to us, that those who had been united to us for ages, by a unity of race, country, language, and faith, in divine service, in holy orders, should have been exposed, by a lamentable and forcible separation from us, to so many difficulties and miseries, also to the danger of an entire spiritual alienation from us; so desirable is this strengthening anew of the ancient bond that had been broken, and this re-establishment of perfect unity.

We rested our hopes of this desirable event particularly on this circumstance, that the holy Eastern order of divine service, imbued with the spirit of the Orthodox doctrines and traditions, had been, by the grace of God, preserved in your Churches. In proportion as you, after having been freed from foreign dependance, by the powerful protection of the most religious

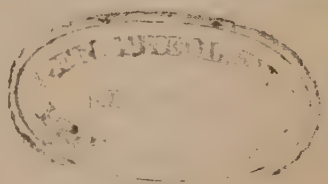
sovereign, the Emperor Nicolai Pavlovich, redoubled your zeal for restoring this holy order to its original purity, our hopes were raised; till at length, brethren, beloved by God, you have completely fulfilled them, by returning to the ancient, true, and holy unity, with the consent of such a numerous priesthood, as must form a memorable example in the annals of the Church.

We have considered your common and solemn promise of acknowledging anew the unity of your Church with the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church, and of remaining henceforward, together with the flocks entrusted to your care, in the same sentiments with the Most Holy Eastern, Orthodox Patriarchs, and in obedience to the Most Holy Synod of All the Russias; and having received from you this promise, before the face of the Lord, we, according to the grace, gift, and power bestowed upon us, by the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by the holy and the All-Creating Spirit, receive and incorporate you and the priesthood that is with you, together with their spiritual flocks, according to the rules and examples of the Holy Fathers, into the full and complete communion of the Holy, Orthodox, Catholic Church, and into undivided union with the Church of All the Russias; lifting up the prayer of faith and love to our great High Priest, who came down from Heaven, and to the Chief Bishop of our Confession, Jesus Christ, that He will confirm you from on high, in the confession which has been made by you, and that He will duly direct the work of your ministry, to the perfecting of the Saints.

In ruling the flocks entrusted to your care, it becomes you, as you know, to follow the word of God, the rules of the holy Apostles, and of the seven holy, Œcumenical Councils, of the Provincial Councils, and of the holy Fathers; also the laws of this empire. Thus will ye, brethren beloved of God, confirm the flocks entrusted to your care in the unity of the faith.

As to any differences in certain local customs, which do not affect the doctrines or Sacraments, we have decided that you should exhibit towards them an apostolical indulgence, and restore them to the ancient uniformity, by persuasion without violence, by gentleness, and long-suffering.

Given in this imperial city of St. Peter, preserved by God, in the year seven thousand three hundred and forty-seven from the creation of the world, and in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine from the incarnation of God, the Word; the thirtieth day of March. Then follow the signatures of the members of the Synod, exactly as in No. 4, except that Philaret signs himself, as he really is, metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna.



OXFORD:
PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

3368 281.9K
M86
Murav'ev, A.N. c.1
A history of the Church of Russia.

281.9K 3368
M86
c.1